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The Shape of Things

"THE RESISTANCE OF EUROPE IS VERY LOW," wrote C. L. Sulzberger in a dispatch from London to the New York *Times* of November 13. "Tuberculosis is rife. The very young and the very old especially are beginning to die in droves as the autumn leaves fall." Mr. Sulzberger's article served as an introduction to two pages of reports providing details of living conditions in all parts of Europe. In only a few countries is it possible to say that the situation is improving; in most of them people face a winter of cold, malnutrition, and a high incidence of disease. It will be a miracle if no epidemics break out; if they do, they will be hard to control. The *Times* survey, a notable piece of newspaper enterprise, added potent arguments to those brought forward the next day by President Truman in a message to Congress requesting an additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. Present funds available for relief work will be exhausted by the end of the year, the President pointed out, and with the liberation of China UNRRA's operations had to be vastly extended. But before Congress can act on this request, it must pass on the bill appropriating $550,000,000 in completion of the initial American pledge to UNRRA, a matter about which it has been bickering for weeks. In the House the Republicans succeeded in attaching a rider forbidding use of any of the funds in countries where censorship hinders American correspondents in writing about UNRRA's activities. This maneuver has been condemned by Senator Vandenberg in terms which we trust will shame his fellow Republicans. "I am unable," he said, "to make mercy an arbitrary hostage to the lifting of the iron curtain at this tragic moment in human history. . . . The iron curtain is in the control of governments. It is the people in these areas who die for want of bread."

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THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY UNANIMOUSLY CHOSE General de Gaulle as interim President of the Republic because it recognized that he had received a strong vote of confidence from the people at the elections, and because no other French personality appeared able to form a government. But this unanimity hid acute political divisions which quickly became apparent when the General sought to form a government representing the three major parties in the Assembly—the Communists, the Socialists, and the Mouvement Republicaine Populaire. The Communists, the largest of the three, considered they were entitled to nominate the holder of at least one of the three chief Cabinet posts, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, and the Interior. De Gaulle took the

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position that the actual selection of ministers was his sole prerogative. Moreover, he was unwilling, as he said bluntly in a broadcast to the French people, "to confide to them [the Communists] any of the levers that command foreign policy: the diplomacy that expresses it, the army that sustains it, and the police that protect it." To do so, he suggested, would be to orient French policy toward Russia and defeat his aim of maintaining a position of equilibrium between the East and the West. Outraged as the French Communists are at what they regard as a reflection on their patriotism, they can hardly deny that, on foreign policy at least, their line is determined in Moscow. Thus the French crisis illustrates once again the difficulty of political combinations involving a party with external allegiances.

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AS WE WRITE NO WAY OF BREAKING THE deadlock appears in sight. With the balance of political forces as they are in France, it would be difficult to organize a government which excluded the Communists. The Socialists and the Mouvement Republicaine Populaire together command a bare majority in the Assembly, and the former, moreover, are anxious not to drive the Communists into opposition, where, free of administrative responsibility, they would be able to devote all their energies to tightening their grip on the French working classes. But a Socialist-Communist coalition would also function uneasily. On domestic issues the two parties are in broad agreement, but they differ on foreign policies, and as rivals for the leadership of the left they are intensely suspicious of each other. Moreover, such a combination would automatically exclude De Gaulle, and a government without the General, certainly the most popular figure in France, is unthinkable. As we went to press the Assembly, against Communist opposition, asked De Gaulle to renew his efforts to form a government giving "equal representation to the three parties." This move might be considered either as support for the General's position or as a hint to meet Communist demands. It seems hardly likely to end the crisis.

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THE HYPOCRISY OF AMERICA'S CHINA POLICY has never been more clearly revealed than in the recent series of official statements designed to defend our intervention in that country's internal struggle. Secretary Patterson, for example, asserted that there was "no danger of our troops becoming involved in civil war in China," but added that the areas seized by American troops would be turned over to Chungking forces and that if the Chinese Communists resisted, the Americans would "react with vigor and success." He defended the dispatch of American marines to key points in North China on the ground that they were needed to disarm the Japanese, but Ambassador Hurley condradicted this a day later by admitting that the Americans were sent to prevent the Japanese from surrendering to the Communists. Similarly, although the American embassy in Chungking denied reports that the United States was planning to equip seventy Chungking divisions or that a $64,000,000 loan had been granted for the purchase of American arms and ammunition, General Wedemeyer, also in Chungking, admitted that this country was prepared to arm thirty-nine divisions. An independent dispatch from Kunming states that 35,000 tons of American ammunition, guns, and equipment had been handed over to the Kuomintang authorities under Lend-Lease, while another report told of the presentation of a large number of American planes to Chiang Kai-shek, including enough transport planes to meet all of Chungking's needs for the next five years. And as if this evidence of intervention were not sufficient, General Wedemeyer declared that the possibility of increased military aid for the Kuomintang was being discussed at a higher level, presumably in Washington.

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MEANWHILE, THE FUTILITY OF OUR COURSE in China is daily becoming more apparent. The Chungking forces are not going to be able to take North China and Manchuria from the guerrilla armies unless American troops help do the fighting. Such action would not only be indefensible; it would be dangerously provocative. One can imagine the sort of reaction it would provoke in Moscow. Athough Russia has maintained strict neutrality toward the Kuomintang-Communist struggle, it would be wrong to confuse neutrality with indifference, particularly where Manchuria is concerned. The Sino-Soviet pact showed that Stalin was ready to meet the United States halfway in an effort to bring about stability in China. But Ambassador Hurley's policies have destroyed the basis of that understanding, imposing upon this country the necessity of finding a new way out. Withdrawal of foreign troops, both American and Russian, and the termination of arms shipments to China are essential first steps toward establishing a new internal balance in China and preventing the civil war from becoming an international test of power.

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THE RISE OF NEW NATIONALIST LEADERS IN Indonesia has had the good effect of bringing into sharper focus the issue of independence versus imperialism. Leadership has passed to those who either refused to work with the Japanese or worked actively against them, eliminating the false issue of collaborationism. That issue was false, because, unlike collaborators in Europe or the Philippines, Soekarno and many of his followers who worked with the Japanese did so as part of the struggle for national independence. During the war, the Dutch themselves recognized this, refusing to denounce Soekarno as a Quisling even when it was suggested by American political-warfare specialists. Perhaps Soekarno's main fault has been his failure to recognize fully the need of disciplined popular forces as the foundation for a successful independence movement. The new leadership is made up of level-headed, young Socialist militants. Premier Sutan Sjahrir is a Holland-educated lawyer who became a labor leader at the age of twenty-three and was exiled soon afterward to the notorious Tanah Merah concentration camp in New Guinea. During the war he refused to take any office under the Japanese and since the war's end has led the fight against the opportunistic wing of the Indonesian Socialist group. The Minister of Internal Security, Amir Sjarifuddim, who has the difficult but essential task of imposing discipline upon the Japanese-incited racialist nationalists, was a leader in the wartime anti-Japanese

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underground. Imprisoned, tortured, and condemned to death for his activities, he was saved only by the ending of the war. These new leaders are clearly anxious to negotiate an agreement ending the present bloodshed. But they are not prepared to abandon their demand for independence in exchange for the Dutch offer of "home rule," which they suspect, with reason, to be merely the old imperialism in a new package.

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THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS HAS AT last ruled upon the hysterical act of Congress which banned three individuals, by name, from employment in the federal government. President Roosevelt, Secretary Ickes, Attorney General Biddle, and others, *The Nation* among them, called this act unconstitutional and odious when it was adopted two years ago; their judgment has now been vindicated by the court. The valuable services of the three individuals—Robert Morss Lovett, Goodwin B. Watson, and William E. Dodd—have, of course, long since been lost to the government; and the men themselves were forced to endure, in war time, an unwarranted reflection upon their loyalty. They deserve amends from the legislative body which inflicted so grave an injustice. They were proscribed by Congress for nothing more than the exercise of a constitutional right, the expression of opinion. Accused by the Dies committee, they were convicted without trial. Thus the action of Congress partook of all the essential characteristics of a bill of attainder. And worst of all, perhaps, it entailed a gross usurpation of executive authority. We hope that Congress will appeal the decision to the Supreme Court—so that it can receive a definitive confirmation of the rebuke administered by the Court of Claims.

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OUT IN LOS ANGELES, WHERE NEW COMMITTEES to support good causes spring into existence every day, the National Committee for Radio Freedom has been formed, with former Congressman Thomas Ford as chairman. Support for the legislation introduced by Congressman Celler will be the committee's major project. Sorely needed at the present time, this legislation would stiffen FCC requirements for license renewals, insure sustaining public-service programs at good listening hours, place broadcasting companies on a public-service basis, and guarantee the right of any legitimate sponsor to buy time on the air. It is high time that opinion was organized in support of radio freedom. Not only is the proposed legislation needed immediately, but such a committee can perform an invaluable function by keeping public attention focused on the work of the FCC, some of whose recent decisions have been extremely disturbing. The new commitee was not born in Los Angeles by mere chance or as a by-product of the evangelical climate of Southern California. It first developed as the Emergency Committee on KFI, to protest the decision of Earl C. Anthony, owner of Station KFI, to take local commentators off the air. Certain of these commentators, such as John B. Hughes, had large radio audiences on the Coast and were universally respected for their integrity and candor. Southern California wants them back on the air; and it wants them on Station KFI. The need for organized public action was further emphasized in Los Angeles recently when Messrs. Jack and Harry Warner, smarting from their recent defeat by the Conference of Studio Unions, began to interfere with the broadcasts of Sam Balter, still another popular commentator.

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WASHINGTON CROSSED THE DELAWARE NEAR Trenton, New Jersey, as every D. A. R. knows. Last week in the same locality United States District Judge Philip Forman crossed the D. A. R. He calmly informed the chairman of the Americanization committee of the local chapter that "the action of the national body of the D. A. R. in restricting the use of its hall in the capital at Washington against Negroes was the kind of policy that could not be reconciled with the doctrines of American citizenship" and suggested that "unless the chapters desiring to participate in [naturalization] proceedings would repudiate the action of their national body their introduction would be embarrassing to the new citizens, the court, and the D. A. R. itself." The logic of Judge Forman's remarks seems to us irresistible. As for his statement that new citizens may be embarrassed by the D. A. R.—instead of vice versa—it deserves to be illustrated by Helen Hokinson.

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BERNARDO SAENZ, A SPANISH REPUBLICAN soldier, can no longer patch together the rags he has been wearing since he escaped into France after the civil war. Pablo Martinez, who lost his left arm in the fight against fascism in Spain, has recently returned to France from the Nazi death camp at Mathausen and faces the coming winter without an overcoat. These men are typical of the 150,000 Spanish Republican refugees in France who have known little but privation and war since 1936. Their physical condition is far below normal. And the winter of 1945-46 will be harder on them than on most other people in Europe: for the official relief agencies, set up to help the citizens of ravaged countries, can do nothing for these nationless men, women, and children. The Spanish Refugee Appeal, in an effort to save as many of them as possible, is conducting a clothing campaign to extend through December. The Unitarian Service Committee will handle the distribution in France. Clothing should be sent to the Spanish Refugee Appeal Warehouse, 715 Second Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

A United Defense Policy

THE chief reaction of ordinary citizens to the current brawling over unification of the armed services is likely to be one of sorrow that outstanding generals and admirals should descend to such fishwifely levels in debate. We may well feel that a prime argument for unification can be discerned in this very squabbling over unification. When our military leaders differ so publicly and so virulently over a major issue of military policy, shouldn't they be unified in order to prevent their differences from hamstringing the national defense?

Manners apart, the weight of common sense and good citizenship still falls on the army's side of the dispute: that

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is, on the side of unification now, with coequal chiefs of land, sea, and air arms under a chief of armed forces responsible to a civilian Secretary of National Defense. The only consideration in the minds of military leaders should be the safety of the nation; that is the common interest that *should* make unification a sensible and worthy procedure. The navy's spokesmen have protested too much: they have allowed the impression to arise—and it must be erroneous—that they are more interested in the navy than they are in national security. Single sentences remain in one's mind: one recalls General MacArthur's "Success in the art of war depends upon the complete integration of the services," and General Marshall's "The national security is a single problem, and cannot be provided on a piecemeal basis," and one sets these statements over against Admiral King's "The navy has a right to its own Cabinet member," and that even more fantastic dictum, "Any step not good for the navy is not good for the nation." Someone should whisper in the Admiral's ear that nobody, really, is concerned about the navy's *right*—to a Cabinet post or to anything else; what people are concerned about is the national defense, and how the navy fulfils its *duty* of contributing thereto.

By far the strongest, clearest, and most convincing presentation of the case for unification has been made, as one had suspected it would be, by General Eisenhower, who reveals himself more and more to be that unusual phenomenon, a military statesman. General Eisenhower disposed of the opposition arguments with forcefulness and logic. The navy says the job is too big for one civilian secretary; what about the President's job?, Eisenhower inquires. The navy says one branch would be subordinated to another; Eisenhower points to "the unified, balanced force" which defeated Germany in the West. The navy says the chief of armed forces would favor his own former branch; Eisenhower reminds us that he himself was once an infantryman.

On the positive side, Eisenhower sees several advantages in unification which must be constantly emphasized: a well-rounded military program, in which each arm is considered simultaneously with the others, all are administered under a single direction, with unity in doctrine and training, unified research and development, and the elimination of duplication, overlapping, conflicts in procurement of men and matériel, and hasty improvisation when an emergency arises. Eisenhower's final point deserves underscoring; it establishes the fact that he is calling for a change not because he is enamored of organization as an end in itself, but because he knows the tools best suited to the job of modern warfare: "Finally, there is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war; therefore we must now recognize this fact by establishing a single department of the armed forces."

Congress would do well to listen to this man, who understands better than most, and from personal experience, the imperative necessity of unified command instead of joint bickering.

THE WAR CRIMES TRIAL

The Nation **will publish in early issues special cabled correspondence from Nürnberg by Peter de Mendelssohn, journalist and novelist.**

British Policy Breaks Down

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS inevitable that Zionists, commenting on Mr. Bevin's Palestine statement, should make what capital they can out of the broken pledges of the British Government throughout the past twenty-five years and of the Labor Party within the past five months. For both are sensational and provide effective moral ammunition. But in the end the Zionist case will stand or fall on more realistic grounds. As long as British foreign policy is based on a determination to preserve the Empire, Palestine will continue to be treated, not as a moral issue, but as a piece in the whole imperial design.

The hope that animated most of us when British Labor took power was quickly extinguished. We did not suppose that the Attlee government would abandon the Empire. But we dreamed briefly of a new policy which would seek for security not through the old by-ways of intrigue and appeasement but along the high road of international cooperation. The San Francisco conference, under British pressure, had made a farce of the trusteeship idea. But the idea was sound and Labor, taking office two months later and faced with urgent post-war problems of colonial readjustment, had a chance to tackle the issue freshly. It could have called a conference of the leading colonial powers, together with Russia and the United States, and undertaken a realistic appraisal of the situation in those parts of the globe where imperial interests clash with one another and with the rights of the people who live there. The chance was lost. The Labor Government chose to continue the old methods, and today we see the results in Palestine—and in Surabaya.

Let no one be confused by the apparent contradiction involved in shooting down Javanese nationalists and supporting Arab nationalists. There is no contradiction; both are expressions of a single strategy: to suppress those elements which threaten the dominance of the ruling groups to whom the Colonial Office looks for cooperation in maintaining British control. The Arab League was not created as an instrument of Arab nationalism; it was invented—and subvented—by Britain to serve British purposes in the Middle East during the war. If the League and Arab political leaders generally are developing ideas of grandeur it is because they have learned that blackmail pays, especially when it is dressed up in high-sounding sentiments. Britain is hedging on its promises to the Jews not because it has been converted to Arab views on Arab rights in Palestine, but because Arab leaders have promised to make trouble if those promises are kept; and Britain wants to avoid new trouble in an area as important and unstable as the Middle East. It is true that the Jews are also beginning to show signs of anger; riots have been suppressed in Tel Aviv and tension is growing. Faced with growing disillusionment, responsible Jewish leaders may be unable to check violence, and the power of the extremist minority is likely to increase. But by and large the Jews are not a major menace: their loyalty, their patience,

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their civilized procedures, and their basic dependence on British power all tend to weaken their strategic position.

The British are afraid of the Arabs, and with reason. The League is no longer a source of security. It is openly planning the expulsion of British influence and control from the whole Middle East, as it has successfully expelled French influence and control (with the aid of British arms!) from the Levant states. Faced with this threat, what can the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office do but continue to stall and betray their promises and try more and bigger appeasement? The alternative would be a new approach to the whole problem of Empire defense.

Mr. Bevin's Palestine proposal is proof that the Labor Government is not ready for that. The Committee of Inquiry is little more than a new wrinkle in an old policy. This is not the first time necessary action has been delayed by the launching of an investigation; the device is as old as governments. The new feature introduced by Mr. Bevin is the participation of the United States—and it is an important innovation. For it insures powerful support for conclusions which, ironically, were largely anticipated by the Foreign Secretary in his statement announcing the committee. By accepting the plan on British terms, Mr. Truman has, we fear, walked into a trap, as the Zionists charge.

He can only retrieve the situation and live up to his own and his country's pledges by altering as completely as possible the frame of reference in which the Committee of Inquiry is to operate. He should insist upon his original proposal that 100,000 homeless European Jews be transferred to Palestine. The British turned down the request, but that was before the committee had been agreed upon. They would find it difficult to refuse if Mr. Truman backed his proposal with firm guaranties of American help in handling the transfer and insuring the safety of the refugees. In any case, it is cruel nonsense to leave the Jews in German camps while new investigations are undertaken. We already have the careful reports of Dean Harrison and Judge Rivkin to verify the known fact that most of these persons look to Palestine as the only hope of survival for themselves and their children.

The President should also make sure that the inquiry into the problem of Palestine is unhampered by Mr. Bevin's ready-made prejudgments. If the United States is to accept responsibility for helping to solve that problem it must not go in with its hands tied. The only obligation it can afford to assume is the obligation to see to it that the terms of the Balfour Declaration, as elaborated in the British Mandate, and officially recognized by acts of Congress in 1922 and 1925, is duly carried out. In other words, the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the encouragement of Jewish immigration should be assumed, as a starting point. From there on, the inquiry should take the form of a brand-new examination of the place of Palestine in the intricate design of Middle Eastern relationships. It should consider, without prejudice, what kind of control can best be applied in a region where the interests of great powers, strategic and material, make external control of some sort inevitable. In view of America's own growing interests in the Middle East and its new international obligations, such an inquiry should be pursued without too much regard for existing colonial practices. We have an opportunity to do what Britain, tied to its burdensome past, has failed to do; we can make a new start.

Obviously British policy has broken down, whether the Labor Government will admit it or not. The old tactic of buying protection from greedy ruling cliques has sensationally failed. Perhaps the Middle East as a whole should be put under international control; perhaps the Levant states and Palestine might be joined in a federation under United Nations trusteeship. Perhaps a different solution altogether would emerge from a fresh study of the problem. But it is certain that the results of imperialist intrigue—now bloodily visible in Palestine—can be eliminated only if the powers are able to cooperate in new methods of regulation which will provide security for their legitimate interests and at the same time encourage the frail beginning of social progress, popular enlightenment, and self-government.

The Bomb Is a World Affair

BY KING GORDON

CAPTAIN Harold E. Stassen, in a recent speech before the Academy of Political Science, urged "placing the control of the atomic bomb definitely on a world level." The other courses open to the nations now possessing the bomb were to maintain a policy of secrecy and suppression or to open our records to the other United Nations without attempting to bring control of the bomb under a world authority. The consequences of the first course are vividly set forth in the original terms of the May-Johnson bill. Simply to share the secret would probably result in other nations' making bombs; it would remove the threat of the atom bomb as a unique instrument of Anglo-American power policy, it would not remove the threat of the bomb to our civilization itself. In outlining his proposal Captain Stassen assigns to the United Nations Organization the responsibility for control through an Atomic Bomb Commission, set up by an amendment to the United Nations Charter. After establishing an international air force armed with a limited number of atomic bombs, the United Nations would destroy the remaining bombs in existence, and forbid the manufacture of atomic bombs by any nation. The Atomic Bomb Commission, composed of distinguished scientists, would have full powers of inspection to see that no nation violated the ban. But scientific research devoted to the full development of atomic energy for peacetime uses would be carried on freely.

The details of the proposed World Stabilization Force raise some doubts: if we are to have international air policemen, an atom bomb is not a very good substitute for a nightstick. If we can manage to suppress the manufacture of atomic bombs as instruments of national policy it would seem wise to eliminate their use as punitive weapons in the hands of an international force. But Captain Stassen's main position is indisputable. Unlike Dr. Einstein's proposal for Big Three world government, his plan of control would be based upon the United Nations Organization. It is broad

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enough in scope and concept to meet a mighty problem. It provides a practical alternative to the suicidal program of competitive armament on which the United States and their chief allies seem to be embarked today.

A brief examination of Captain Stassen's proposal sets useful bounds to a discussion of the international control of the atom bomb. There is no doubt that the determined effort of the nations which own the bomb to hoard its secret has increased distrust among the nations which were united in a victorious war effort. The bomb, of course, has been only one of a number of factors that have led to the waning of international good will since the San Francisco conference. In half a dozen areas widely scattered over the earth, local infections are being aggravated and dangerously extended by the conflicts of rival power systems and the exigencies of imperialist consolidation. Germany, the Balkans, the Middle East, Indonesia, China, all present critical problems which are being resolved not primarily in the interests of the inhabitants, or on the level of international responsibility, but in the interests of the great powers. These problems accentuate distrust among the nations and provide a bad foundation for attempts to deal with atomic control through international mechanisms. It has been this distrust that has driven us back to the inveterate folkways of national sovereignty, national security, national defense—concepts which in the world of the atom bomb have very little meaning. It has permeated the thinking of our military leaders as they urge preparedness and present horrific pictures of the next air war. It has plotted out advance naval and air bases far into the zones from which conceivable aggression might come. It has inspired our policy of guarding the secret of the bomb and sowed panic over the prospect that others might steal the secret from us or arrive at it themselves—as undoubtedly they will—within a few years.

If Russia was disturbed by the American policy of strict bomb monopoly, it must have been even more disturbed by its exclusion from the conference between the three nations possessing the secret of the bomb's manufacture. For the purpose of the conference was to discuss means of international control of a weapon that admittedly could not long remain the secret of one nation or group of nations and against which there was no effective defense. It would have been a wise and statesmanlike move for Mr. Truman to invite the Soviet Union as well as Great Britain and Canada to Washington, as we proposed editorially last week.

But, having admitted basic errors in policy that have tended to heighten rather than lessen international distrust, what about the statement itself? I must confess that I differ with certain commentators who see in it only a maneuver to put Russia on the spot or a plot to blow up the embryonic structure of the United Nations. It is true that the statement carries no assurance that the secret of the bomb will ever be shared; in fact, it indicates that it probably will not be. This in itself is no disaster, although in the present state of international confidence it does, of course, underline our distrust of the good intentions of other nations. What is more important, however, than immediate sharing of the secret is an efficient method of controlling the bomb and, if possible, eliminating it altogether. The Washington statement proposes a very specific plan for removing the control of the bomb from the hands of one or three nations and placing it in the hands of an international body, the United Nations Organization. The first step toward this control is the setting up of a commission to submit recommendations to the United Nations Organization—

> (a) for extending among all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends
>
> (b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to insure its use for peaceful purposes alone
>
> (c) for the elimination for national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction
>
> (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

It is arguable that the statement should have announced clearly that the bomb's secret would be handed over to an international body. Certainly the language could have been simplified and carried a more ringing challenge. Certainly Russia should have been included in the discussion. But it is irresponsible to suggest that the conference proposed no method of international control or was aimed at sabotaging the United Nations. It is quite possible for the United Nations Assembly to set up an atomic control commission at its January meeting. The first step can be taken within the next few weeks while the preparatory executive committee is meeting in London: if instructed by their governments, representatives of the major powers can place the business of constituting the commission at the top of the agenda of the Assembly. (And in the diplomatic conversations which will inevitably coincide with this preliminary meeting Russia's opinions should be fully consulted.) If the matter is not taken up by the preparatory committee, it can be raised directly in the Assembly or the Security Council. There has been some demand for a Big Three meeting to deal with this and other crucial matters before the Assembly meets, and this, too, might still be arranged. But on the other side, there is much to be said for regarding the United Nations henceforth as the international body primarily intrusted with international decisions. There is no better way to build the prestige of the U. N. O. than to put it to work. There is no better way to reduce its authority than to by-pass it on every important crisis.

The Washington statement provides that when the control of atomic energy is firmly vested in the United Nations commission, the manufacture of atomic bombs will cease and the manufacturing plants of all nations will be open to inspection. Some have raised a question as to the feasibility of such inspection, but sound scientific opinion holds that it can be carried out satisfactorily. Of more crucial importance is a willingness to submit to inspection by all the United Nations. Here, quite obviously, the veto power by members of the Security Council cannot operate. No nation can be exempt from inspection or every nation will feel insecure. It is safe to predict that it is on this question that the first important fight for recognition of a genuine international authority will be fought out in this and other countries. It is on this concrete and limited issue that liberals had better be prepared to rally their forces.

The setting up of such international control will admittedly

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go only a small way toward restoring confidence between nations. And it may be that even this amount of progress will be delayed by existing rifts and suspicions. We have learned that there is no easy or clearly marked road to peace. In a recent speech on atomic control Beardsley Ruml insisted that three programs had to be embarked on simultaneously —a long-term program directed toward the establishment of world government, an intermediate program in active support of the United Nations Organization, and a short-term program making use of diplomacy, public and private, to reduce existing international tensions. Mr. Ruml gives the world about twenty years in which to lay a solid foundation for realizing the *long-term* objective. Perhaps Mr. Ruml is an optimist, but he thinks it can be done.

Jewry in a Blind Alley

By I. F. STONE

Jerusalem, November 15

I CAME to Palestine unhappy, and during the first few days I became even unhappier trying to figure out solutions of the problems involved; but the longer I have been here the happier I have come to feel despite all that has happened and may happen in the next few days.

I stayed five days in Egypt visiting with many Egyptians and spending some time in a village near Cairo. I was able to see the sharp contrast in cleanliness and health between the Egyptian villager and urban poor and the Arab villager and urban poor in Palestine. I felt happy that the coming of the Jews had helped rather than hurt the Arabs.

I was deeply moved by my visits to the colonies here. From Gevulot, in the far south of the Negev desert wastes, to glorious Minara, 3,000 feet above the Upper Jordan on the far northern edge, I saw young Jews from every clime and country reclaiming the land and making something for themselves and their children under conditions which are truly heroic. This sense of consecration and common effort in the Jewish community must powerfully attract all who prize human courage, devotion, and idealism. I was not at all surprised to hear of two cases of non-Jewish demobilized British soldiers, formerly in service here, applying for admission to membership in the Jewish Kibbutzim, or communal settlements.

I felt happy to see that despite difficulties which from abroad appear insuperable there was a great and growing community here, and in visits both to Arab villages and neighboring Jewish colonies I saw evidence of good relations between the two peoples. I feel a huge reservoir of goodwill between the Arab and Jew which can be tapped; and I have not sensed in talks with Arabs either in Palestine or in Egypt, despite their differences, any feeling of race hatred or dislike of Jews as a people.

But at the cost of unpopularity perhaps in the Jewish community of America I wish to say as strongly as I know how that the new Bevin statement is only the latest indication of the blind alley into which Palestinian Jewry is being led by the failure to achieve any political understanding with the Arabs. And I wish to say just as strongly that political agreement will be impossible so long as a single Jewish state in Palestine is demanded.

We have been carrying on a campaign in America on the basis of half-truths, and on this basis no effective politics can be waged and no secure life built for Yishuv. It is true that the Arabs have benefited by the Jews coming to Palestine, and it is true that there is plenty of room here for several millions more, but I cannot find a single Jew who can find a single Arab who favors a Jewish state in Palestine! It should not be hard to understand the natural dislike of any human being for being ruled by another people or his unwillingness to trust himself to such rule.

There is only one way in which a Jewish state here could be sold to the Arab world and that would be as part of a general settlement of Anglo-Egyptian and other Arab problems which would satisfy the aspiration of the Arabs for self-development and federation. That was what made Zionism acceptable in earlier days to the wise and far-seeing Feisal and other Arab leaders, but Britain's failure really to keep the promises given to the Arabs has made the Arabs naturally hostile to the promises given to the Jews. The Bevin statement is only another chapter in the record of broken promises to both.

The most significant point to be noted in the Bevin statement is that while consultation is assured the Arabs concerning any further Jewish immigration in accordance with the White Paper, not a single solitary word is said about a promise to consult with the Jews on the other major item in the White Paper—the undertaking to the Arabs that a start would be made in setting up self-governing institutions in Palestine within five years. I could not help noting also that in Egypt, if it were not for anti-Zionist political agitation, the British would be confronted immediately with a demand for a basic settlement of Anglo-Egyptian problems, including the Sudan, Suez, and British occupation.

It is true that the Jews are in a terrible position, on the one hand asking to be beneficiaries of British imperialism and on the other serving as its lightning rod. Two political axioms seem to be completely forgotten by Jewish world leadership. One is that politics cannot be played unless one has alternatives; one cannot bargain unless one can obtain similar wares elsewhere. The other is that in politics one saves favors for those one must win over and does not waste them on elements already in one's pocket. So long as the Jews are dependent on Britain with no alternative policy for an agreement with the Arabs, the Jews are helpless. Incidentally the Arabs are also helpless until they reach some agreement with the Jews, because just enough will be given both sides, as by Bevin, to keep both dissatisfied and embroiled. Let us remember that as long as there is no solution of the

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Arab-Jewish problem, Britain has an excuse to keep ample troops near the Suez Canal. I realize this does an injustice to the subjective intent of many British leaders, but it is politically true none the less.

I understand, after being in this part of the world, why the Jews must fight against the conversion of Yishuv into what the Royal Commission of 1937 called "one more cramped and dangerous ghetto." Consignment to minority status in an Arab state is a violation of pledges made to the Jews, fulfilment of which they have a moral right to demand. But I understand too why the Arabs in Palestine, who are also human beings and who also have historic rights here, are prepared to fight against any subjection to a Jewish state.

I know there are other Arab states, while there is only one possibility for a Jewish state; I know that proposals to divide Palestine into two national states, put forward several times by Jewish sources, have fallen on stony ground. Nevertheless, despite present public utterances by the leadership on both sides, I think that a division on these lines, with two national states created on a parity principle, is ethically right and politically feasible and would be acceptable to a great majority of Jews and Arabs if it were imposed from above by Anglo-American or United Nations decision. Certainly only on this basis can Arab-Jewish political understanding be reached.

I heard much talk in London against partition. I think it ducks the fundamental and inescapable question of the Middle East. For the Arabs, the removal of the Jews would be a calamity. I am convinced that the Jews have already contributed much and can in the future contribute even more toward the development of the Arab world. The Arabs are a great people with great potentialities. For the Jews, conversely, the basic problem here is to get along with the Arabs, to win them by helping them and by demonstrating a sincere desire to live together on an equal basis. This is a nobler and politically sounder goal than any narrow Jewish nationalism. If Britain and America wish peace with justice in this part of the world, with the Jew and Arab both here, I am convinced the solution lies in this, the only escape route from *divide et impera.*

Burma: Objective Freedom

BY ANDREW ROTH

(*Author of "Dilemma in Japan"*)

IN THE midst of the war, when Burma was still the bastion of the Japanese position in Southeast Asia, two men of seemingly opposed views met while nervous guards tried to keep the secret of their meeting from the Japanese. One was Major General Aung San, commander of the Japanese-sponsored Burma Defense Army; the other was Thakin Soe, the leftist political leader of Burma's energetic anti-Japanese forces. As a result of this meeting the most virile elements of Burmese nationalism were fused, Japanese rule was overthrown ahead of schedule, and the British government was confronted with a challenge infinitely more direct and forceful than that of pre-war days.

Before the war the Burmese people were hewers of wood and drawers of water in a land whose riches were siphoned off by others. Petroleum—Burma's most important mineral resource—was the preserve of three giant British concerns. Another handful of British concerns monopolized the valuable deposits of tin, tungsten, silver, lead, and zinc. While the British were intrenched in large-scale enterprises, smaller firms were in the hands of Indians and Chinese, while Indian *chettyars* (moneylenders from Madras) dominated the field of rural usury and owned a large part of the most fertile agricultural lands.

After Burma was separated from India in 1937, its government was somewhat liberalized but no less firmly controlled. There was a carefully rigged and circumscribed legislature chosen by an electorate limited to one-fifth of the population, but all important powers were reserved for the British-appointed Governor.

The nationalist movement which rose to challenge these conditions first became a significant force in the '30's. Well-to-do Burmese, resentful because the economic cream was being skimmed by non Burmese, supported the *Myochit* (Patriot Party) of the unscrupulous U Saw. Despite its name, the *Sinyetha* (Poor Man's Party) appealed to the lower middle class and was led by a dainty opportunist, Dr. Ba Maw, who became an open fascist during the Japanese occupation. Both parties were purely parliamentary groups, with no mass following. By far the most important nationalist organization was the *Dobamma Asiayone* (Our Burma Association) whose members were generally called *Thakins* (Masters) because they claimed that Burmans should be the masters of their own country. Its original base was among Socialist-influenced students, but it subsequently proclaimed itself the party of the peasantry and workers and attempted to recruit members in those classes. It showed its greatest pre-war strength in 1938 when the oil workers of Yenangyung struck and the *Dobamma* organized demonstrations and a general strike in their support. The British were able to suppress these actions with guns and *lathis* (metal-tipped wooden batons) and the arrest of the leaders. This setback cast a pall of disillusionment and demoralization over the nationalist cause.

Japanese agents, keenly aware of nationalist moods, chose this strategic moment to dangle alluring offers before the *Dobamma* leaders. They had had little difficulty in taking into camp the unscrupulous opportunists U Saw and Ba Maw. But the Japanese were particularly interested in the influential *Dobamma* and dangled before its leaders promises of extensive funds, a Japanese-equipped Burmese army, and immediate independence in return for collaboration in the coming war with Britain.

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This offer was resisted by Thakin Soe, Than Tun, and other leftist leaders of the *Dobamma,* who claimed that independence could only be won by organized popular struggle. But their voices were silenced by their imprisonment by the British, and the decision to accept Japanese aid was carried by the faction headed by Aung San. Aung San was an intense young nationalist who had risen from leadership of the 1935 student movement to the position of general secretary of the *Dobamma.* He and his followers were too impatient to tolerate the setbacks and repression of 1938-39 and looked toward short cuts to freedom. In 1940 Aung San and thirty-one other nationalists arrived in Tokyo to accept Japanese terms and received military training. After a few months he returned to Rangoon, where under the very nose of the political police he recruited supporters to pave the way for the ejection of the British. After laying the groundwork he left Burma and marched back with the Japanese as a major general at the head of the Burma Independence Army.

The people of Burma, bitterly anti-British and misled as to Japanese intentions, hailed their Independence Army as "liberators" and helped them harass the bitter Anglo-American retreat. The Burmans spontaneously organized local self-government committees, and in some areas big landlords were forced to distribute uncultivated land among poor peasants.

But soon the Burmese realized the deception which had been perpetrated upon them. The Japanese, who had promised that independence would be granted immediately, now followed the footsteps of their British predecessors by saying, "Independence is impracticable now. Sometime after the war." The Burma Independence Army was cut down to the Burma Defense Army and denied arms previously agreed upon, while the nationalists never received even 1 per cent of the funds promised them by the Japanese. The Burmese middle class, a portion of which had hoped to preempt the position of the British, Indians, and Chinese, was completely squeezed out by Japanese *Zaibatsu* concerns, impoverished by Japanese-sponsored inflation, and looted by Japanese soldiery. The Japanese were unable to purchase Burma's rice or supply it with cloth and other consumers' goods. In some districts poverty-stricken peasants were forced to plow their fields stark naked, lying flat behind bushes to cover their shame if they heard the footsteps of strangers. Burmese morality was revolted by the sexual bestiality of the Japanese soldiers, who seemed to know only two sentences in Burmese: "The Japanese are fighting for Burmese freedom," and "Are there any young girls around here?"

As a result of this swelling torrent of anti-Japanese feeling the left-wing nationalists who had opposed the deal with the Japanese gained swiftly in popularity and influence. In 1942 Thakin Soe, Than Tun, and other leftists broke out of the jails, where the British had left them to the tender mercies of the Japanese, and began the building of an anti-Japanese underground variously called the Burma Patriotic Front or Anti-Fascist League. A leading young intellectual, Thein Pe, was sent to India to make contact with the British forces, but the government in exile of Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith refused any liaison.

When it became apparent that Major General Aung San had grown thoroughly disillusioned with the double-dealing Japanese, Thakin Soe—who before the split of 1939 had shared the leadership of the *Dobamma* with him—risked his life to meet him secretly and save him from complete demoralization. Thakin Soe convinced him that Burma's place was fighting alongside the Allies against Japanese military fascism. Won over, the impatient young General wanted to go into the hills to organize guerrilla activity. He was persuaded, however, that he could be more useful by utilizing his official position to convert the Burma Defense Army into an anti-Japanese army and simultaneously defend the people against Japanese atrocities.

This meeting inaugurated an incredible period in which, under the very nose of the Japanese *kempeitai* (secret service), the Burmese army and other organizations were converted into anti-Japanese centers. The army was particularly ripe for such a conversion, for it was made up for the most part of patriotic, if misguided, nationalist elements. General San began a hurricane campaign to rouse his army. He sent out secret circulars that no soldier should allow a Japanese to search him while carrying anti-Japanese publications without San's own permission. If the Jap persisted he was to shoot him and seek the protection of his commander. An increasing number of cases occurred in which Burmese soldiers killed Japanese molesting Burmese girls and were hidden or protected by army headquarters. Than Tun took the post of Minister of Agriculture as part of the plan of anti-Japanese mobilization and secured Japanese assent to the organization of peasant unions on the plea that they would be useful for increasing food production and labor recruitment. Actually they became important centers for the distribution of anti-Japanese literature, anti-hoarding campaigns, and the killing of small isolated groups of Japanese soldiers. The *Pongyis* (Buddhist monks) allowed their monasteries to be used as secret munition dumps, and in the Arakan a Buddhist priest, U Pinnyathaina ("Learned Lion"), led the anti-Japanese movement. Finally, in 1944, British headquarters gave its grudging and unpublicized recognition to the Burma Patriotic Front, with the consequence that guerrilla activities were coordinated with activities at the front.

When the British Fourteenth Army launched its Burma offensive last winter, synchronized guerrilla operations began, culminating in a general uprising by the Burma Defense Army under General Aung San's command. Japanese communications were harassed day and night, and the British forces enabled to advance at the rate of fifteen to twenty miles a day. Burma's capital, Rangoon, fell into the hands of the guerrillas two days before the British marched in to the plaudits of thankful Burmans.

Burma now confronts the British authorities as one of their thorniest colonial problems. The evidence indicates that the Burmans are ready for a rapid transition to independence. They have a unified nationalist leadership under young and virile but mature persons. The Burma Patriotic Front has 200,000 members embracing all the important patriotic groups and has deep roots in all sectors of the country. Its leader, General Aung San—who turned down a commission as major general in the British army—has emerged at thirty-one as a national leader of unprecedented popularity. Under the Patriotic Front's guidance, Burmese Buddhists and Christian Karens have learned to live and work together. Burma has the second highest literacy rate in the Orient, largely

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as a result of the efforts of Buddhist monks. And although two extensive military campaigns and three years of Japanese occupation have seriously injured the country's economy, the Patriotic Front has worked out a concrete and comprehensive restoration program which compares most favorably with the complementary British plan.

Thus in Burma the British have an unparalleled opportunity to make good their repeated promise to facilitate self-government. But virtually every action so far taken has underlined a *contrary* intention. Even the limited electoral participation enjoyed before the war has been suspended until 1948. The Patriotic Front has been badgered and harassed in every conceivable manner: its meetings have been suppressed, its buildings requisitioned, its paper stocks confiscated, its members maltreated and arrested. The press has been censored to eliminate all mention of its anti-Japanese exploits and its contacts with the Indian nationalist movement cut off. Instead of selecting proved anti-fascists, men who served the Japanese as informers and spies have been favored for civil-affairs posts. In Mandalay the British appointed as Deputy Commissioner the man who was responsible for the capture of the local anti-Japanese leader and his subsequent inhuman torture and death. And although on October 16 the British government announced that an advisory Executive Council would be appointed "as widely representative as possible of public opinion," Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith rejected the Patriotic Front's request for important posts on that body. All they have now is Sir Reginald's assurance that eventually they will receive "the same degree of freedom as Great Britain herself."

Perhaps it would be wise for Sir Reginald to recall what he said in October, 1943: "Politically minded Burmans will be wondering just what our intentions are. Do we really mean to lead them on to the goal of full self-government, or have we some reservations at the back of our minds which will mean that self-government will always be round the corner and never an accomplished fact? . . . Neither our word nor our intentions are trusted in that part of the globe. . . ."

Strategic Bombing—an Autopsy

BY ALAN BARTH

(*Of the staff of the Washington* Post)

Washington, November 15

IT IS unlikely that any military operation in history has been subjected to a more detached and searching review than the strategic-bombing campaign against Germany by the British and American air forces. General H. H. Arnold's final report as chief of the Army Air Forces, recently released, gives a detailed account of American air operations in the European theater. The effectiveness of these operations, and also of the R. A. F.'s, in carrying out the strategic purposes of the Allied command has been penetratingly analyzed in a report by an independent civilian committee composed of economists and experts in several industrial fields. Organized at the instance of President Roosevelt as the Strategic Bombing Survey, it was afforded every facility for investigation. It inspected hundreds of German plants and cities, examined masses of German statistical records, and interrogated thousands of Germans, including military and political leaders. Its members declare that they were free from any sort of army coercion or censorship, and, indeed, the candor of their criticism is testimony to their independence.

"Allied air power," their report concludes, "was decisive in the war in Western Europe." It liquidated the Luftwaffe—so completely that German air generals responsible for operations in France stated that on D-Day they had only eighty operational planes with which to oppose the invasion. In the months after D-Day it pulverized German industry to such an extent that by the time the end came that industry was incapable of supporting any major military effort. The R. A. F. and the U. S. A. A. F. between them dropped 2,697,473 tons of bombs in the course of the war. They killed about 305,000 German civilians and wounded some 780,000 more. The morale of the enemy, the will to war, was gradually sapped by this pounding; and although stringent police control kept the German people from any overt rebellion, widespread apathy, defeatism, and disillusionment contributed substantially to the ultimate collapse of the Reich.

These were the positive—and obvious—accomplishments of air power. The defects in our employment of it, less well known, form an interesting and useful part of the civilian strategic-bombing report. "We saw that mistakes had been made," General Arnold's report acknowledges. "Strategic bombing was a new military weapon, and we had to learn many things as we went along, but we took pride in the job as a whole." Whether air power alone could have forced the capitulation of Germany, as some enthusiasts contended, remains a matter for conjecture. It was never directed toward this end. Dominant in Allied strategy was the decision to invade the Continent in the spring of 1944, and all the air forces based on England were used to prepare the way for the invasion. Not until after it had taken place were the heavy bombers free to attack in full force the heart of the German war economy. Of the total tonnage of bombs dropped on Germany only 17 per cent fell before January, 1944, and only 28 per cent before July, 1944.

"The city attacks of the R. A. F. prior to the autumn of 1944," the civilian report notes, "did not substantially affect the course of German war production. German war production as a whole continued to increase." As for the vaunted precision bombing of our air forces, the same report discloses that "while accuracy improved during the war, in the over-all, only about 20 per cent of the bombs aimed at precision targets fell within this target area."

Some of the targets were ill-chosen. In selecting bombing

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objectives both the R. A. F. and the U. S. A. A. F. had the conviction that they ought to strike blows the impact of which could be immediately felt in the front lines. These blows would have been more effective, as was learned later, had they been aimed at more remote nerve centers. Attacks on submarine pens and constructions yards, for example, "accomplished little," according to the civilian survey. Although our raids on German aircraft plants inflicted much damage to the plants themselves, "production was not knocked out for long." General Arnold is somewhat at variance with the survey on this point. He says that Speer, the Reichsminister for Armaments and War Production, "estimated that he could have made 30 to 50 per cent more fighter planes" but for our bombing. However, it was in air combat, not in the factories, that the Luftwaffe's real strength was shattered. The great raids on Schweinfurt, planned to demolish the vital ball-bearing industry, had no "measurable effect on essential war production," declares the survey—and this despite terrible losses to our own planes and pilots.

Moreover, we overlooked objectives at which we should have struck. Because of inadequate or mistaken intelligence we assumed that the German electric-power system was so highly developed as to make raids upon it futile. In point of fact, however, it was in a precarious position, and highly vulnerable, from the very beginning of the war. Fears that its condition would be discovered were discussed and recorded in the minutes of the German Central Planning Committee. According to the survey report, "The destruction of 45 plants of 100,000 kilowatts or larger would have caused a loss of about 8,000,000 kilowatts, or almost 40 per cent. . . . Had electric generating plants and substations been made primary targets as soon as they could be brought within range of Allied attacks, the evidence indicates that their destruction would have had serious effects on Germany's war production."

The failure of intelligence here was due in good part, of course, to our lack of any comprehensive intelligence system during the pre-war years. We simply did not know the fundamental facts about the German economy. But it was also due to the army's failure to enlist the services of the ablest researchers and technicians available. More could have been deduced from the little that was known.

Before the blitzkrieg was unleashed, we underestimated German power, and afterward, spurred by hobgoblin reports like Lindbergh's, we grossly exaggerated it. The most striking finding of the strategic-bombing survey is that the German war effort was managed with almost incredible inefficiency. Germany's Maginot Line was a blind faith in blitzkrieg. So confident were the Nazi leaders of a quick victory that they never prepared in any real sense for total war. There is no doubt, says the report, "that until the defeat at Moscow German industry was incompletely mobilized, and that in fact Germany did not foresee the need for full economic mobilization. German arms production during 1940 and 1941 was generally below that of Britain. . . . Studies of German man-power utilization show that throughout the war a great deal of German industry was on a single-shift basis, relatively few German women—less than in the first war—were drawn into industry, and the average work week was below British standards."

Paradoxically, the weakness of the German war effort contributed to its strength. Because the German war economy was substantially undermobilized, it was resilient under air attack. As war plants were damaged, factories producing civilian goods could be converted to war production; plants and machinery were plentiful and incompletely used. No doubt this had a good deal to do with the failure of our strategic bombing to cut production figures until toward the end.

One sample of German inefficiency not disclosed by the survey is worth reporting. The Reich with its conquered territories had a steel-producing capacity of about 40,000,000 tons. It never achieved this capacity; the highest production reached in any year was 34,000,000 tons. But in the course of two years about 15,000,000 tons of fabricated steel was lost—through hoarding and padded inventories and faulty records. Had our own WPB been guilty of such fantastic incompetence, the tumbrils would surely have rattled through the streets of Washington.

In Germany there was no check on inefficiency. For there could be no criticism of those responsible for it. Not only was the press silenced, but in the hierarchy of the government no individual dared to blame his superior. The survey investigators found no memoranda in the German files which so much as suggested errors of judgment or of administration. Perhaps this is an elementary and ineradicable defect of dictatorships—that they leave no room for self-correction. Democracies may blunder; but they are not incapable of learning.

Once the Luftwaffe was knocked out of the air and the Allied bombers could strike at will, the cumulative effect became terrible. They hit the German synthetic oil plants and in short order brought the Wehrmacht to immobility. "The German experience suggests," the survey reports, "that even a first-class military power—rugged and resilient as Germany was—cannot live long under full-scale and free exploitation of air weapons over the heart of its territory."

But the air weapons employed in the European war were in no more than an adolescent stage of development. General Arnold predicts a future—not remote by any means—in which there will be rockets similar to the German V-2 with a speed of three thousand miles an hour and greatly improved range and accuracy, and space craft moving outside the earth's atmosphere to launch rockets loaded with atomic power. He recommends as our primary defense against such weapons the maintenance of air superiority, but that affords only the most dubious sort of security.

"No war will be started," says General Arnold in the concluding part of his report, "unless the aggressor considers that he has sufficient superiority in weapons to leave his adversaries in a state of ineffective warmaking capacity." The weakness in this hypothesis is that an aggressor has the advantage over a peaceful people—the advantage of devising weapons for the destruction of specific targets. There is not much assurance of superiority or security in abstract defense. Even inferior atomic bombs, moreover, might obliterate our cities before we could use our superior types to snuff out our enemies.

Among the defense measures which General Arnold suggests is to "redesign our country for minimum vulnerability

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to atomic-bomb attack." He notes, however, that "complete dispersal of our cities and moving vital industries underground on a sufficiently large scale would be overwhelmingly expensive." Merely to present this as a possibility is to illumine the dilemma with which air power, plus the bomb, has confronted us. Are we to seek escape from what we have created by burrowing beneath the surface of the earth? Do we no longer dare to live within sight and reach of our fellow-men? If air weapons now have just reached adolescence, there had better be control over their maturity.

Joe Ryan and His Kingdom

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

(Former editor of the City Reporter; *a special agent for the army's criminal-investigation department until his recent honorable discharge)*

[*The background of the recent dock strike was described in the preceding issue of* The Nation. *On New York's waterfront, kingdom of the leech and the thug, some 35,000 longshoremen walked out. They were rebelling against Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, charged with being the king-pin of a dictatorship which uses terror to exploit the men. Basic to this system is the shape-up method of hiring, a haphazard procedure which places an oversupply of casual labor at the mercy of the foreman. Ryan denounced the strike as a Communist plot; after eighteen days the men returned to work, their strike unwon, but their defiance has profoundly shaken the power of Ryan and his allies.*]

ON AN autumn night twenty-six years ago a lank, strong, red-faced man with fiery eyes shouldered through a crowd of Hoboken longshoremen in St. Mary's Parish Hall, his heavy fists whacking those who tried to bolt from the hall. It was a meeting of the rank and file of the International Longshoremen's Association, and Joseph P. Ryan, vice-president, was supporting the claims of T. V. O'Connor, president, who had appeared uninvited with his henchmen. The men were angry, for the meeting had been called in protest against O'Connor. The next day, under the headline "Vice-President of I. L. A. Held as Result of Riot," the Hoboken *Journal* reported that Joseph P. Ryan was held in $1,000 bail for inciting to riot.

In the following years his big fists and barking voice, and his unswerving loyalty to the ruling cliques of the waterfront, won Ryan steady advancement in the union's hierarchy. He still uses practically the same methods. Only the externals have become elegantly transformed for Joe Ryan. A Persian rug on top of a rose carpet covers the floor of the office where the president of the I. L. A. rules the affairs of his union's 90,000 members.

Joseph Patrick Ryan looks considerably younger than his sixty-two years. He was born in Babylon, Long Island. He left school at the age of twelve and moved to the Chelsea district of Manhattan—he is proud of being a "Chelsea boy." He got work papers at fourteen and became a stock boy, clerk, street-car conductor. He was a married man with a family when in 1912 he turned to work on the docks, six days a week for $18. Joining Local 791 of the I. L. A., he became its financial secretary in 1913, by which he earned one dollar a meeting. In 1916 the job became a full-time one at $30 a week. Ryan takes the attitude today that if people consider his present $20,000 a bit high they should not forget the lean years. Since he has been in the blue chips his family has lived appropriately; his three daughters are college graduates.

Ryan impresses one as a hardened veteran of the battle for possessions and power who will defend his gains with blunt defiance. In appearance he is the popular stereotype of the longshoreman—solid as a river barge, bull-necked, heavy-fisted. His red hair is close-cropped, sharply parted. His ruddy complexion suggests that he does not skip his rub-down at the New York Athletic Club; the useful hands are now carefully manicured. Here is conscious physical strength carefully draped in expensive clothes styled for the executive type. He admits a weakness for gaudy, painted ties.

More than anything else, Ryan enjoys expensive food and lots of it. "I like good food of all kinds and I think my longshoremen want me to have it," he told a reporter when rationing was at its height. He often goes to Cavanagh's restaurant, where some of the finest food in the city is served at de luxe prices. Surrounded by his aides and political henchmen, he can be seen there stowing away caviar and other delicacies. He once confided that his taste for rare food dated back to his days on the docks when crates of imports would crack open and the longshoremen would help themselves. He is reported to abstain from tobacco and liquor.

Besides the Athletic Club, Ryan is a member of the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, and the Holy Name Society, and he is a bountiful trustee of the Shrine Church of the Sea. Although he seems to scorn people who cannot make their way in life, he is open-handed, peeling off large denominations from the fist-sized roll he carries. He has not lost the common touch: he likes to walk along the waterfront in the morning when the shape-up is forming; sometimes he stops to talk with a longshoreman. Dinner time, however, will find Joe Ryan on the other side of the tracks. The presidents and vice-presidents of the ship companies have all met him socially and have commented that he seems to have the situation under control.

There is no Huey Long exuberance about Joe Ryan; nor has he a Napoleonic complex. Think of him more as a machine politician who believes he is helping his brother as well as himself. Alert, shrewd, pugnacious, with strenuous convictions and loyalties, Ryan does not forget a friend or an enemy. His speech is as flat as the New York sidewalk. He

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avoids the flowery oratory of other old-line union leaders, uses practical words, and gets his exact meaning across. He has a quick temper but nerves of steel—during the recent dock strike if he was at all perturbed he did not show it. Ryan is convinced that he only wants to help the men of his union when he hires ex-convicts, defends the shape-up, or is named president for life, but this conviction does not alter the fact that as the result of his acts the longshoremen and their families lead sordid, impoverished lives. Their union president is secure for life, but the men never know whether or not they will work tomorrow.

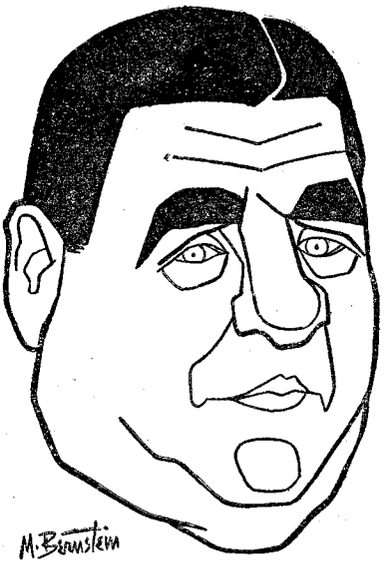
Ryan became the fourth international president of the I. L. A. in 1927. At the 1943 meeting he arranged to be named president for life at $400 a week. To give this procedure the proper democratic window-dressing, he had a Negro, George W. Millner, named vice-president for life. Their designations, Ryan said, would stand "as an object lesson to the entire labor movement that unity can be achieved . . . we're going to show that actions like ours can settle this serious problem of racial and color differences." He would not have accepted the life job, he added, if a Negro had not been accorded the same honor. The Negro vice-president was to be paid $75 a week.

A three-story building on West Eighteenth Street displays a brass plate—"Joseph P. Ryan Association." Here Ryan plays pinochle with his lieutenants, and here, away from the official headquarters of the I. L. A., the substance of waterfront policy is determined. The club is "private" and "social," and ordinary longshoremen are not observed going in there. An outgrowth of a Democratic political club, it has a considerable voice in choosing the Congressman from the district.

Ryan has long had easy access to the powerful figures of the Democratic Party and the shipping world. Ten-dollar-a-plate testimonial dinners in his honor have been attended by 2,500 people annually, the money going to the Joseph P. Ryan Association's charities. Notables such as Jim Farley and Sam Foley, the Bronx district attorney, are often in evidence. Always present are the multitude of lesser Tammany leaders and representatives of Mayor Hague's Jersey City machine. Their power in many cases hinges on a close working alliance with the waterfront boss. These politicians, like the shippers, want no new deal on the waterfront, and they have been able to protect the "loading racket" from any government interference.

On both the New York and New Jersey waterfronts the law has been on the side of the I. L. A. leadership. Members of the police force can be counted on to take a table at a Ryan dinner. During the October strike the police were openly hostile to the rank and file despite Mayor LaGuardia's order to avoid favoritism. They required the strikers to have a license to picket in the Chelsea district and fraternized with loyal Ryan men while menacing others. There has always been a close working agreement between the union's local officials and the neighborhood police captains; union members who have disputes, even peaceful ones, with officials have often found themselves in the police station.

Some disciplinary jobs cannot be turned over to the cooperating police. Ryan has been praised by port authorities for doing a public service by hiring ex-convicts; actually, these men are useful for "policing" inside the I. L. A. Two incidents may be cited to illustrate the role of the criminal element in the I. L. A. Cleveland Bisell, a writer for the *Shape-Up*, a rank-and-file paper campaigning against Ryan and racketeering, was assaulted by one Frank Savio. Ryan appeared in court as a character witness for Savio, who received a sixty-day suspended sentence. After this the union made Savio foreman on Pier 14; later he turned up on the police blotter as a loan shark extorting money from other longshoremen. Edward Kelly, a new hiring foreman on Pier 51, refused to "play ball" with the waterfront racketeers when picking his men from the shape-up. Kelly was severely beaten by John Dunn and Joseph Hughes. Dunn's record included three years in Sing Sing for robbery, and arrests for homicide, gun carrying, assault and robbery. He had then settled down to run the I. L. A. on the lower North River piers, though he was not even a member of the union. Testifying for him were Peter G. Hussey and Walter B. Holt, both vice-presidents of the I. L. A. Hughes, who assisted Dunn in the assault, was made the boss checker by the union on Pier 51. He had first brushed with the law in 1925, when a grand-larceny charge was dismissed. In succeeding years he had been arrested and discharged for homicide (1928), robbery (1928), carrying a gun (1933), felonious assault (1934), disorderly conduct (1934), safe-cracking (1938). In 1935 he served a prison term for possession of gas bombs and receiving a stolen car.



Joseph P. Ryan

In the 1930's Ryan waged ceaseless passionate war against the C. I. O. It was more than a matter of principle when, in 1934, Harry Bridges staged a successful revolt and took the entire West Coast away from the I. L. A. and into the C. I. O. Bridges, fighting against deportation on charges of being a Communist, became the symbol of everything Ryan hates. Today Ryan unhesitatingly brands anyone he does not like as a "red"; he firmly believes Communists control the C. I. O. and that the A. F. of L. will be doomed if it does not take swift, harsh measures. Ryan has dedicated himself to cleaning the Communists out of the labor movement, and his crusade makes him a popular and much-quoted labor leader with many newspapers. His warnings and denunciations have received careful and complete coverage, and he has been able to count on widespread press support—a decisive influence in the October strike.

In 1938 Ryan's pronouncements on politics were carefully examined by American nationalist and Coughlinite leaders seeking a public figure who was anti-British, isolationist, anti-Communist, and unmistakably identified with labor. At

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that time Merwin K. Hart, an energetic propagandist for Franco, was attempting to fuse the myriad anti-democratic, pro-fascist cells into a unified isolationist bloc, backed by vast political and financial resources. Hart established a liaison with Ryan, and on November 29, 1939, Ryan spoke for Hart in Madison Square Garden. On the program were the vigilante-minded George U. Harvey and Representative Martin Dies, whose topic was The Insidious Wiles of Foreign Influence. Subsequently the Christian Front increased its activities along the waterfront, and Coughlinite personalities appeared with I. L. A. membership cards. On the day before Pearl Harbor the sympathetic *Daily News* quoted Ryan as saying that he opposed "injecting the United States into wars of foreign countries."

With the war the scandal of New York's waterfront became no longer a secret. After the Normandie burned at its pier a *PM* reporter, Edmund Scott, revealed that he had purchased a bootlegged I. L. A. membership card and had been acting the role of saboteur for a week before the fire. Anyone could get on the docks, discover ship sailings and cargo contents, and commit acts of sabotage. The best aid to the saboteur and spy was the shape-up, which thwarted even the simplest security measures. Facts piled on facts. Crews discovered bad loading at sea; survivors brought word that U-boat captains knew what ships to expect and had detailed knowledge of their cargoes. Notorious pro-Nazis, including Baron von Wrangell, were employed as pier guards. Christian Mobilizer James Stewart was found in the I. L. A.

There was no single port authority to enforce security and efficiency. Neither local nor federal agencies nor any branch of the armed services had the final say. Clearly, the East Coast required a shipping coordinator similar to the shipping "czar" of the West Coast, Wayne Morse. Ryan and the shippers immediately realized that such an appointment would jeopardize the status quo of the waterfront; a coordinator would abolish the shape-up, the inefficient organization of loading, and all the other dismal but profitable features of the harbor jungle. On March 9, 1942, leading shippers, including John Franklin, president of the United States lines, and Roger Lapham of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company, met secretly with Ryan to plan their Washington lobby against a coordinator. A powerful, two-pronged attack on the proposal was to be launched by the shippers and the union. But in case the public demand should be overwhelming, they had a candidate of their own to suggest in Joseph P. Kennedy, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, whose isolationist-tinged sentiments, anti-C. I. O. record, and association with the big shipowners made him a "safe" choice.

Called upon to explain the condition of the waterfront by the New York Central Trade and Labor Council, Ryan replied, characteristically, that all public controversy on the matter should be prohibited for the duration since it only served to give information to the enemy. The shape-up, he declared, was more "efficient" than a central hiring hall. To the press he stormed that the clamor for a shipping coordinator was really a Communist-inspired campaign to smear the good name of the I. L. A.

Ultimately Ryan and the shipowners had their way, and the federal government never succeeded in setting up an over-all authority on the East Coast. The port muddled through under a patchwork of government agencies at an unknown cost in time, money, and lives. It was not until the eighteen-day strike in October that public attention was again focused on the waterfront.

At the present time the Shipping Association and Ryan are attempting to arbitrate a contract. William H. Davis, former chairman of the National War Labor Board, is the arbitrator, appointed by Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach. Ryan is basing his own proposals for the new contract on the demands of the rank and file—demands which provided the spark for the October strike and which Ryan then insisted could never be obtained. Unless the men's points, including the limitation of the sling load to 2,240 pounds, and the twenty-two-man loading gang, are considered favorably, acceptance of the arbitrator's findings by the membership cannot be guaranteed. However, no matter how favorable the new contract may prove for the longshoremen, the basic issue of the strike, the question of democracy inside the I. L. A., is beyond the scope of the present proceedings, and Joe Ryan will remain the man in possession of the waterfront.

Public indignation over conditions on the waterfront is not sufficient. Nothing resulted from the war-time protests and headlines demanding reform because Ryan, flanked by political and financial lobbies, made a deeper impression in Washington than did the public's alarm. It will take indignation plus organization to effect a clean-up.

Many citizens are rightfully concerned about the banner which will lead New York's 35,000 longshoremen to freedom; they fear lest the alternative to Ryan be extreme radicalism. Labor, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and obviously the longshoremen will adopt a slogan and a leader. The rank and file, since they are fighting against a well-established dictatorship, must have outside support to win. Being realistic, the men will follow whoever arms them for the fight with money, technical aid, community backing. As one rank-and-filer said: "I don't care who helps us so long as we are helped and can get rid of King Ryan."

This has ceased to be an intra-union dispute. The basic question is: Do the boundaries of the city of New York include the waterfront? If they do, constitutional rights, fair labor practices, and law and order should be upheld there. Otherwise, a broad perimeter along the 250-mile harbor frontage will be ruled in feudal style by a labor baron in conjunction with shipping companies, racketeers, and politicians. Both Dewey and O'Dwyer, when holding the office of District Attorney in New York and Brooklyn respectively, knew the facts. Mayors of the city have been filing surveys on shocking waterfront conditions since 1916. Hitherto public officials have been either too craven or too impotent to face the waterfront combine. The individual citizen remains, as in all things, ultimately responsible and powerful; it is he who must now recapture the waterfront. Clearly his first step should be to insist upon a straight declaration of policy from the new Mayor. Mr. O'Dwyer has stated that the city's most urgent problem is crime. He cannot do better than start his war against crime by attacking one of its citadels in New York.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Is America a "Have-not" Nation?

LAST week, in discussing Bernard M. Baruch's proposal for a national inventory, I referred to his fear that the United States was depleting its natural resources so rapidly as to endanger its national existence. So far as minerals are concerned, the situation has been documented by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in the December issue of the *American*. Mr. Ickes not only shares Mr. Baruch's fears but, as is his wont, shouts about them with all his lung-power. He declares:

> The prodigal harvest of minerals that we have reaped to win this war has bankrupted some of our most vital mineral resources. We no longer deserve to be listed with Russia and the British Empire as one of the "Have" nations of the world. We should be listed with the "Have-Nots" such as Germany and Japan. . . . To prevent the decline of the United States as a major military and industrial power, and to maintain our high standard of living, we must take immediate positive action to maintain our known mineral resources.

At this point I feel impelled to exclaim: "Steady, Harold! Let's look at this question calmly. You may rightly feel that the people need to be stirred up, but alarmist statements of this kind are dangerous grist for imperialist and nationalist mills."

Actually, the figures Mr. Ickes himself supplies indicate that the mineral position of this country is not yet desperate. For one thing the United States has hardly begun to use up its coal deposits, and although the cream has been skimmed from its original wealth of iron ore, there are still enormous quantities of medium-to-low-grade ore. True, this is more costly to utilize, but I don't know of any country in the world that has an inexhaustible supply of ore of the purity of the best Mesabi deposits. Britain, which must import a large proportion of its iron ore, has to get along with a much lower average grade than is used in this country, with the result that for each ton of steel smelted about 25 per cent more coal is required than for a ton of American steel.

How about oil, which is perhaps Mr. Ickes's chief worry? The United States has, he tells us, proved reserves of 20 billion barrels compared with a production last year, the wartime peak, of 1.7 billion. Thus even allowing for a considerable drop in consumption now that huge fleets of bombers no longer have to perform daily missions, it would appear that, without some major new discoveries, domestic supplies of oil will be running low in fifteen to twenty years. Nevertheless, the United States still has 36 per cent of the known oil reserves of the world—not too bad a share for a country with under 7 per cent of the world's population. Moreover, many oil authorities do not share Mr. Ickes's pessimism. They point out that American reserves today are higher than at the end of the last war. Domestic resources, according to the American Petroleum Institute, are "sufficient to meet the demands of this and the next generation of Americans."

Assuming, however, the wisdom of supplementing local production by imports as a conservation measure, this country is very fortunately placed. The most highly developed foreign oil fields lie in the Caribbean basin, in Mexico, and, more importantly, along the northern rim of South America. These fields are largely controlled by American corporations, they are accessible for cheap water haulage, and they lie within a zone where the strategic defenses of the United States cannot be easily penetrated. The position of this country in regard to copper, lead, and zinc, basic metals the domestic production of which is proving unequal to demand, is rather similar. Alternative sources of supply are available in this hemisphere and to a large extent under American financial control.

In painting his picture of the United States as a Cinderella, Mr. Ickes suggests that its sister great powers, Russia and Britain, are far better endowed by nature. We do not know much about new Soviet discoveries in the past few years or to what extent they compensate for mines ruined, some perhaps irretrievably, by the Nazis. The most recent study of Russian geography published in this country, "The Basis of Soviet Strength," by George B. Cressy,* states: "No other country has so great a variety of minerals, and only the United States is richer. At the same time it is well to note that among these many deposits are some low-grade ores, especially copper and aluminum, which have doubtful value if operated on the basis of strict capitalist accounting." Proved oil reserves in Russia are large, though not so large as this country's; coal and iron-ore deposits are plentiful and well spread through the vast expanses of the U. S. S. R.; among the non-metallic minerals, phosphate and potash are particularly abundant. On the other hand, Russian resources of nickel, tin, and certain other strategic minerals are very inadequate.

Mr. Ickes talks of the British Empire as a "have" nation in contrast to the United States, but it is rather misleading to treat the Empire as a unit. Britain itself is poor in every important mineral except coal, and even its coal occurs mainly in narrow seams which make production costly. Most of Britain's iron ore, practically all of its copper, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, manganese, and almost all other vital minerals must be imported from overseas. The Empire, of course, produces many of them, but the three richest mineral-producing areas —Canada, Australia, and South Africa—are fully independent dominions. Their products are just as available to the United States as they are to Britain; in time of war, in fact, Canada's very great resources form a magnificent reserve for this country. As for the mineral output of the colonies proper —Rhodesian copper, Malayan tin, New Guinea bauxite, for example—they can be purchased in time of peace by American consumers on exactly the same terms as by British consumers.

In the light of such facts, Mr. Ickes's picture of America's relative poverty seems to me rather overpainted and his sounding of the tocsin a little too vigorous. But as regards the need for conservation, I am with him entirely. Next week I hope to discuss his proposals for guarding and extending mineral resources and to take up a point he has omitted —the relation of conservation to the tariff system.

KEITH HUTCHISON

* Whittlesey House, $3

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The People's Front

Mexico City, November 13

THE meeting of the Cortes has drawn a clear-cut line between those who are ready to make an all-out fight to reestablish the Republic and those who want a compromise. The two policies, which were in conflict during the last stage of the Spanish war, were again in conflict last week in Mexico. Two names, Juan Negrín and Indalecio Prieto, symbolize these two policies. It is false to say that Negrín represents a pro-Communist tendency and Prieto a genuine Socialist tendency. Negrín represents resistance, Prieto capitulation. It is time that the friends of the Spanish Republic in the United States should know this.

Between August 27, when the Giral government was formed, and November 7, when the Cortes met, many things happened that have not appeared in the American press. One of the most important was the change in the position of the Communists. They had refused to enter the Giral government, and for the same reasons that dictated the refusal of the parties grouped around Negrín—because they felt that a government headed by Giral lacked the qualities necessary to direct the fight against the fascist Spanish regime. A few weeks later the Communists opened negotiations to enter the Giral government. This did not involve a breach of faith since they notified the other opposition groups of their intention. It was a change of policy, nevertheless.

When the Cortes met, the Communists had already discovered that Giral now did not want them. The Cabinet had succeeded in bringing to Mexico City from France, England, and Latin America more than the number of deputies—one hundred—required for a quorum, and it felt sufficiently strong to get along without the Communist votes.

Thus the Cortes convened with the opposition forces aligned as they were at the time the Giral Cabinet was formed. Prieto saw in this situation an opportunity to overthrow the government. On the opening day our Socialist group, the Ruiz Funes Republicans, and the Communists declined to support the government but carefully phrased their statements so as not to cause any serious damage to Republican institutions. On the second day of the session Prieto delivered the most destructive and anti-Republican speech that has been heard on the Republican side since the end of the Spanish war. Put in a few words, Prieto declared that it was madness to expect anything from the Spanish people, in the grip of such a regime of terror as Franco's; that the nations that really have something to say about the Spanish question are not interested in the reestablishment of the Republic; that the situation in Spain must be brought to an end regardless; and that therefore it was a nuisance to have a President and a government of the Republic in exile. Prieto continued that he would vote to support the government but without engaging his group permanently. If it developed later that a less rigid institution than a government was better fitted to solve the Spanish problem, his group would consider itself free to act. It was manifest that what Prieto wanted was to overturn the government and restore his former Junta de Liberación. It was also clear that he was willing to compromise on the issue of the Republic itself.

The effect of the speech was terrific. All Prieto's taunts and imprecations against General Franco, delivered with emphatic gestures and in a voice that sounded like cannon-fire in the small meeting room of the old Palacio Municipal, failed to allay the general indignation. The president of the Cortes had to declare a recess for half an hour. Giral was seen to walk out on the balcony overlooking the beautiful Cathedral Square, and he remained there alone for some time in order not to be spoken to by anyone. He knew that it was only necessary for one of the leaders of the opposition to rise and address a question to the Prime Minister, and the government would immediately fall. At that moment its life was in Negrín's hands. Negrín walked over to speak to Giral and advised him not to reply to Prieto's challenge; he told him that when the session resumed we would declare that while we maintained all our reservations about the make-up of the government it could count on our support. The opposition saved the government. It may seem strange, but it was logical. Negrín was not going to take advantage of Prieto's attack to destroy everything he had done for the Republican cause since he came to Mexico City.

The situation changed after the meeting of the Cortes was adjourned. The Prieto group, which had publicly pronounced itself in favor of compromise and surrender, has two members in the government, one of them, Fernando de los Rios, holding the important position of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, it is known that Prieto, although he did not specify in his speech with whom an agreement could be reached in Spain, does not exclude the possibility of a monarchist restoration. Confronted with such a grave situation, our Socialist parliamentary group on Tuesday presented to President Martínez Barrio a statement denouncing Prieto's policy of surrender and the monstrous fact that two members of his faction are retained in the government, informing the President that he would be held completely responsible for what might happen, and giving notice that if he did not act promptly we would fight for the liberation of Spain by all the means at our disposal.

The negotiations for the formation of a "Council of Resistance" have been resumed. Our future policy is quite clear. We shall continue to seek the recognition of the government by the United Nations, since recognition would mean acceptance of the Republic as an institution rather than approval of any particular leader or Cabinet. But since we have no confidence in the ability of the present government to overthrow Franco and reestablish the Republic, and no confidence even in the loyalty to the Republic of some members of this government, we shall also continue our fight. And either the Giral government will change some day or it will be left isolated and abandoned like the old Polish government in London.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I'M GLAD TO NOTE that La Liberté won out over Mush Mush at Jamaica last week, if only by a head. And I liked the description of La Liberté as a little filly which "had won three of four starts in sprint races, but whose breeding promised success over a route." This coincides almost exactly with Benedetto Croce's view—"History is the Story of Liberty"—and it is cheering to have a philosopher's theory confirmed, and so snappily paraphrased, by a racing reporter on the other side of the world. Especially at a time when, in spite of all the talk about liberation, liberty is winning very few races (and vice versa).

FASHION NOTE: On page 12 of the morning *Times* I read again that Britons may expect fewer clothes than ever. On page 3 is a glamorous advertisement of "Imported Suits from England" of fine Saxony wool. English women will wear trade balances this season.

THE CURRENT ISSUE of *Poetry* is mainly devoted to the poets and poetry of the Resistance in France. It includes an interesting account of the whole development, entitled The Conspiracy of the Poets, by Pierre Seghers. It was he who founded in 1939 *Poètes Casqués,* a publication edited by soldiers who were all poets. It was published, against greater and greater odds, throughout the occupation, and the best talents of France found expression in its pages.

Translations of fifteen poems are given, and while they appear to be passable, one keeps wishing to refer to the originals. I don't see why they could not have been included.

CULTURAL NOTE: "Get more out of life with good books," reads a leaflet from Woolworth's, and there follows a list of books which includes not only best-selling novels and thrillers but such aids to the good life as "The Joke Teller's Joke Book," "Astrology for Everyone," a cook book, and "The Home Book of Party Games." As far as I am concerned, however, the most intriguing item on the list is "The Complete Dream Book" and the accompanying blurb: "Discover the meaning of your dreams. Interpretations of over 1,500 dreams will help you avoid dangerous situations, pick your fortunate days, predict your luck in love." And all for 69 cents, which is a good deal less than the current rate for old-fashioned psychoanalysis.

IN THE ISSUE of November 5, P. I. Prentice, publisher of *Time,* took his readers into his confidence and explained the use of the word "KOMING" in the preparation of copy. "Every news writer," he said, "is likely to discover in midstory that there are dozens of details about which he needs more information than he has on hand." A *Time* writer caught in this predicament merely types in the word KOMING, and "there are sometimes as many as twenty KOMINGS in the first draft of a story." "It once cost us $300," he continues with pride, "just to make sure that the highest price ever paid for a magazine article up to then was $30,000. . . ."

It's very impressive, and I was fascinated by the samples Mr. Prentice gave of the questions which are fed into *Time's* research mill by its correspondents in the field. I think I liked best the double query datelined Los Angeles, which reads as follows: "Rechecking length of atomic age according to Paramhansa Swami Yogananda. Is it 100 or 1,000 years? Also: Are fleas bad in all Southern California or just in some sections?" *Time's* fevered, passionate search for the Fact, which can only be compared in its intensity to an early Christian's search for the truth; its belief that all facts are created equal; its readiness to spare no expense in bringing a fact, however small, to bay—all are summed up in that conscientious query about Paramhansa Swami Yogananda and the distribution of fleas in Southern California.

CYRIL CONNOLLY thanks me for defending him against the sneers of Orville Prescott and informs me that he weighs exactly 180 pounds. From another source I hear that "The Unquiet Grave" has sold 20,000 copies in England in an inexpensive edition—which would seem to indicate that English readers at least are not outraged by French quotations in French.

SOME DISCHARGED SOLDIERS are still in uniform. It seems they "haven't a thing to wear."

The Forms of Liberalism

THE LIBERAL TRADITION. By William Aylott Orton. Yale University Press. $3.50.

THIS scholarly analysis of the history of the liberal tradition aroused in one reader at least a tremendous initial enthusiasm which was gradually dissipated as concluding chapters failed to maintain the profundity of insight promised in the earlier chapters. Professor Orton begins by distinguishing between the conservative and liberal political traditions. In the former there is reverence for the past, appreciation of organic forms, communal unity, and constitutional continuity; in the latter the emphasis is upon liberty and progress. One feels that he is not completely committed to the liberal tradition and that he is prepared to show that American liberalism might well borrow some of the virtues of true conservatism.

"In America," Professor Orton rightly observes, "the term liberal is being used to cover policies ranging from nineteenth-century laissez faire to dictatorial collectivism." One could go farther and say that in America what is known as conservatism is a decayed form of liberalism. It makes devotion to liberty a screen for a policy the real intent of which is to prevent economic power from coming under the control of political and communal restraint. The left, on the other hand, is inclined to espouse collectivist programs with-

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out recognizing the danger of totalitarianism in them. There is no true conservatism in this country, for no political group has a genuine understanding of the organic processes of history or a desire to guard them from the corrosive effect of the ever-increasing technical instruments of modern civilization.

Professor Orton seemed destined to make a new contribution to the assessment of these important political tendencies, first, because he is properly skeptical of the kind of "progress" which liberal theory presupposes to be a guarantor of increasing political virtue, and, secondly, because he understands that liberty alone is an inadequate goal in life. "Liberty," declared Lord Acton, "is not the means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end." "Liberalism," wrote Ramsay Muir, "is a belief in the value of human personality, and a conviction that the source of all progress lies in the free exercise of individual energy."

Professor Orton seems, in the earlier chapters of his work at least, not to accept this kind of individualism as adequate. "Liberty without community and community without liberty," he declares, "each is subhuman." He even understands that the individualism of bourgeois culture helped to lay the foundation for modern tyrannies by producing atomic individuals whose lives were not disciplined by any of the organic forms of social life and who therefore became rootless and aimless "masses" coerced by tyrants into an abortive communal unity. "We can now see," he declares, "why the theory and practice of individualism gave so great an impetus to the rise of a monistic and tyrannical form of social organization."

All these profounder elements in his analysis seem to be lost when he moves from diagnosis to prescription. He laments the decimation of the British Liberal Party without recognizing that its individualism had become irrelevant in a day in which an impoverished nation was bound to emphasize the interests of the whole community and could no longer believe with Ramsay Muir that the exercise of individual initiative would of itself guarantee social justice. It may be observed in passing that the political distance between the two major parties in Britain is less than that between our right and left because both parties in Britain accept, from different presuppositions, the idea that the community must manage the economic process and not depend upon its automatic harmonies. Our own right and left, on the other hand, represent different forms of liberalism which have little in common because the one does not understand the perils of injustice under a system of economic liberty and the other is not fully cognizant of the perils of tyranny in a program which ultimately compounds political and economic power.

Professor Orton's own, and it seems to me inadequate, solution for the problem is to deny the legitimacy of the laissez faire conception of liberalism on the ground that it did not make liberty the primary end of policy but regarded liberty "as a means to the end of economic progress" and then to go back to the "truer and older liberalism which held that liberty was the supreme political end-period." He thinks that this is a more spiritual and valid conception than the idea that freedom is pragmatically justified by its fruits. "Despite the most obvious clashes of interest, ordinary people," he writes, "believe that freedom of action will lead to so-

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We could list half a dozen more titles from the December MERCURY, all equally intriguing—yet there is nothing special about this issue. It is typical of those which MERCURY subscribers enjoy each month. It offers a fair sample of THE MERCURY'S lively, penetrating, courageous and forward-looking discussions that range over the worlds of politics, economics, literature, the arts and sciences. But it can give you only an inkling of the nearly 300 stimulating articles, essays, stories, poems, reviews and biographical sketches that you can enjoy in a year of THE MERCURY.

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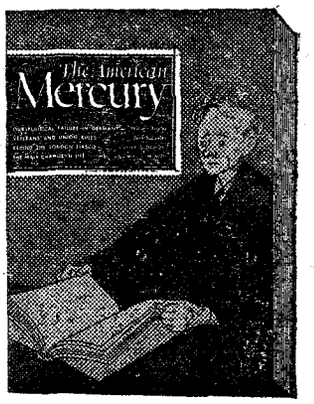

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Professor Orton's answer is too simply libertarian to be adequate for a problem the breadth of which he has profoundly illumined in his own thought.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Yenan

THE CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA. By Gunther Stein. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

WHEN I first saw Gunther Stein he was in the lobby of the plushy Hot Springs Hotel surrounded by an enthralled audience of delegates to the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. His listeners included some of the top Far Eastern experts in the Allied governments, men who had access to a wide range of highly confidential government reports. Yet they listened avidly and asked many questions, for Mr. Stein was able to give fresh and expert testimony on a subject which all present recognized as the touchstone of a stable Far Eastern peace.

It was January, 1945, and Mr. Stein had just reached the United States after five months in the Communist-led Border Regions of North China. Although Washington was fairly well informed about the hotly debated developments in that area, Far Eastern experts were interested in Stein's reactions, since twelve years of reporting from the Far East for the *Christian Science Monitor,* London *News Chronicle,* and Manchester *Guardian* had established him as one of the soundest and best-informed observers in that area. Unlike most correspondents, he had been trained as an economist. Although liberal in his own outlook, he was known to be friendly with high Kuomintang personages and therefore not likely to be uncritical in his approach to Yenan.

Mr. Stein was questioned and cross-questioned by his audience, and was able to satisfy everyone because his intensive investigations in the Yenan area had been specifically designed to probe all the accusations and test all the praise that had been heaped upon the Chinese Communists and their "new democracy."

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CHRISTMAS ☆ ☆ ☆ BOOKS

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"The Bostonians"
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Notes by the Way
By Margaret Marshall

Reviews

DELMORE SCHWARTZ
"Little Friend, Little Friend" . . . *by Randall Jarrell*
JAMES GROSSMAN
"The Trollopes" . . . *by Lucy and Richard Stebbins*
DAWN POWELL
"This Petty Pace" . . . . *Drawings by Mary Petty*
KEITH HUTCHISON
"Years of Victory: 1802-1812" . . . *by Arthur Bryant*
MILDRED ADAMS
"Perplexities and Paradoxes" . . *by Miguel Unamuno*

Short Reviews
by
Lionel Trilling, Marguerite Young, Harold Lazarus, Ralph Bates, and others

Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch*
Music *by B. H. Haggin*

A Selected List of the Books of 1945 will appear in the issue of December 8

NEXT WEEK
in
THE *Nation*

wealthy landlords, prosperous merchants, and Michael Lindsay, the young English non-Communist liberal who has spent four years in the Communist-held area. From this varied but converging testimony there emerges an authentic picture of the area and an explanation of why the Japanese were never able to conquer it and why Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek can overwhelm it only with the aid of a dozen American armored divisions.

The truth is that the Border Regions have the most popular, most nearly democratic administration yet attained in China. There is free suffrage, and the Communists limit themselves to one-third of the seats. There have been democratic agrarian reforms, but the rich landlord is satisfied because he has been more than compensated by infinitely lower taxes. Confident of the superiority of their own Marxist outlook, the Yenan authorities have permitted considerable freedom of thought and criticism. It is true that there is no organized competition, but that is because the Kuomintang has lost all influence as a result of its pro-Japanese policies in the area and its refusal to compete on a popular level.

The Chinese Communists were not always as enlightened as they are now. At one time their program was aimed almost exclusively at the poorest peasants, and they insisted on firm political control. But all trained observers agree that they have broadened and mellowed. It is true that their leadership is Marxist and their eventual aim communism, but it is also true that they are absolutely committed to the thesis that China cannot reach even socialism without a long intervening period of democratic capitalism. And one of the best guaranties against a resurgence of extremism and sectarianism is the fact that there has been a marked shift in the social composition of the Communist Party. Nine-tenths of its present 1,200,000 members joined after 1937, and most of them are moderate "middle peasants" who joined because they wished to support the struggle against the invader and the reforms of the "new democracy."

American ultra-conservatives, misled by Ambassador Hurley and blinded by their morbid fear of Russia, hope to wipe out even the moderate reforms of Yenan. Had they been genuinely interested in democracy and the well-being of China's four hundred millions, they could have insured against an extremist development by supporting and building up the democratic elements in the Left Kuomintang and the Democratic League. Instead, our military force has been placed at the disposal of the most corrupt, anti-popular, and feudal elements. It seems difficult to believe that the conscience of America—enlightened by such excellent studies as Stein's—can tolerate such an egregious development.

ANDREW ROTH

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Americana, South

THE UNIVERSITY PRESSES are giving us, with increasing frequency, volumes of regional history and biography which both entertain and, in the aggregate, add to our knowledge of the past. Three recent volumes dealing with life in the nineteenth-century South are illustrative.

In 1826, at the age of eighteen, Seargent S. Prentiss graduated from Bowdoin College. A year later he went to Natchez, Mississippi. From then until his death in 1850 he was prominent as a lawyer, an orator, and a public servant. Dallas C. Dickey has written a careful, competent biography of this transplanted Yankee who represented Mississippi in Congress and played a national role in the Presidential campaigns of 1840, 1844, and 1848. Its title is "Seargent S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South" (Louisiana State, $4).

Professor J. H. Easterby has given a scholar's attention to the many and varied accounts, letters, diaries, and miscellaneous papers of Robert Allston. "The South Carolina Rice Plantation—as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston" (Chicago, $5) is a fascinating and important contribution to our economic history, providing many illuminating sidelights on the political and social life of the half-century prior to 1868.

Kemp Plummer Battle, lawyer, statesman, business man, and educator, wrote on his eighty-first birthday, "I begin the writing of my memories. My ambition is to do more than chronicle my personal history. I wish to throw light on the history of the state during my time . . . and the changes in our institutions." Not quite completed at the time of his death, his autobiography has now been edited by his son, William James Battle—"Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel" (North Carolina, $3). The former president of the University of North Carolina wrote even better than he had hoped; this book is a gold mine of social history, and is so completely charming as to be the despair of any reviewer who has to describe it briefly. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Too, Too Superior

A. L. ROWSE, author of "The Spirit of English History" (Oxford, $2), says in his preface that he has written with two aims: "First, to make the story of our people *intelligible* . . . to make clear . . . the factors and forces which have made our history what it is. Second, within the very restricted confines at my disposal to include everything that is really *essential* to the understanding of that story" (his italics). To accomplish all this in 144 pages, to paint on so small a canvas an impressionistic version of the rich and varied tapestry of English history that would convey some sense of its color and meaning, requires a genius that Mr. Rowse manifestly does not possess. He cannot be blamed for that; but he has to his credit some excellent studies of the Tudor period, and had he taken more pains with this book, he might have ended up with something better than an epitome of the more commonplace English school textbooks.

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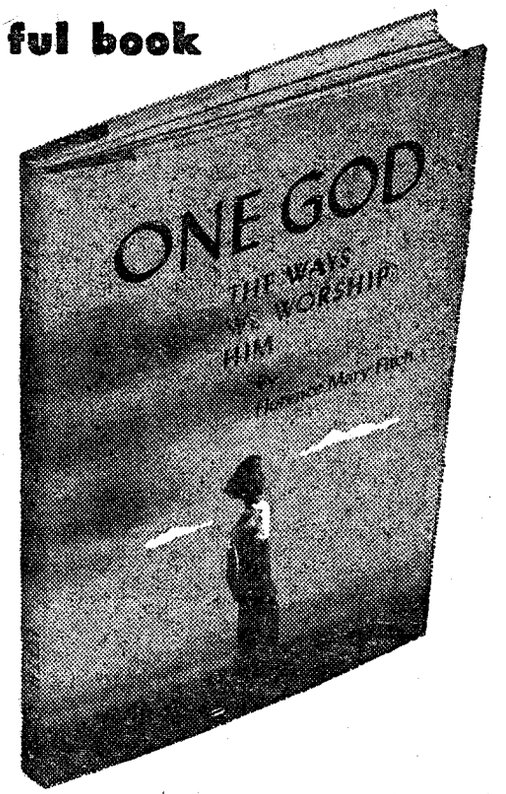

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In condensing his material Mr. Rowse all too often becomes a cataloguer expressing himself in clichés, and his interwoven generalizations and judgments are apt to be conventional to the point of triteness. Summing up nineteenth-century English poetry, for instance, he tells us: "The age had its representative poet in Tennyson, the laureate of the Victorians, superb craftsman and artist, a magician in words, a belated Merlin. Later Victorians found themselves more faithfully mirrored in Browning: the strain of the age, the breakdown of the older certainty movingly expressed in Arnold, the note of rebellion and defiance in Swinburne."

A believer in "progress," Mr. Rowse is one of those optimistic historians who find that nearly everything turns out for the best in the long run. And for a Cornishman, a Celt, he seems to have absorbed a fair share of the complacency usually supposed to be an Anglo-Saxon contribution to the character of John Bull. Writing of the "large class of landless laborers" created by the inclosures of the eighteenth century, he says: "Fortunately for them, the concurrent development of industry absorbed them, with some ups and downs of adjustment; so that a considerable internal migration from the country to the new industrial areas was an underlying feature of the new century." Some later references to the realities of the Industrial Revolution hardly redeem this smug dismissal of a long nightmare of human degradation from which Britain has not yet fully recovered.

Mr. Rowse's history was written at the request of the British Council, a semi-official organization devoted to the diffusion of British culture. It will not, I fear, prove an acceptable export. Its overtones of superiority, unconscious though they may be, are all too likely to irritate the foreign reader. For Americans, at any rate, "The Making of Modern Britain" by J. B. Brebner and Allan Nevins (Norton, 1943, $2.50) may be recommended as a more readable short history which achieves perspective despite the manifest affection of its authors for their subject.

KEITH HUTCHISON

One Small Question

THE PROBLEM of the atomic age is well stated in "Modern Man Is Obsolete," by Norman Cousins (Viking, $1): man is as ill-equipped to accept its potential blessings as he is to control its present dangers. The remedy is offered—a world government. The one small question is just *how* we are to bring about this world government. The answer is not satisfactory: where there is a will there is a way. The instinct for survival must be stimulated. We must convert National Man into World Man. How? How? I remain the "gloomy dean." With the atomic bomb in our hands, and a short space of time between survival and annihilation, we are asked to reeducate two billion people by crying to them, World Government or Death! And yet, what other solution is there than some form of world government?

BENJAMIN HARROW

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE RUGGED PATH" (Plymouth Theater) is Robert Sherwood's first play since "There Shall Be No Night." The latter, you may remember, concerned itself with the heroic fight for freedom put up by the Finns against the aggression of Soviet Russia. The new play, you will not be too surprised to hear, deals with the case of an honest editor who lost his job in the spring of 1940 because he insisted upon proclaiming the duty of our country to support these same Russians in a struggle which had somehow become not against but for liberty and democracy.

Mr. Sherwood is hardly to blame for either the rapidity with which events have moved or the confusions produced. If he changed his opinions he changed them with the nation, with *The Nation*, and, incidentally, with the present reviewer. But there is, nevertheless, something faintly ridiculous in the juxtaposition of two successive plays so downright and so incompatible. That something is, morever, relevant to the whole question of the playwright and his relation to times like these. It is so easy to argue that he must treat of our deepest concerns and that our deepest concerns are obviously political. But it is equally easy to see that recently at least none of his attempts to do so have been particularly happy.

Less than a decade ago when the world was not so grim as it is today Mr. Sherwood could solve the problem to the satisfaction of a practical playwright by making "Idiot's Delight" merely a good show. Essentially the solution achieved this season by, let us say, the authors of "Deep Are the Roots" is the same. But Mr. Sherwood is now too serious to be satisfied with nothing more than that kind of success, and "The Rugged Path" fails on its own level because, I think, it is merely more serious without really being serious enough.

A play as important as the author wants this one to be would have to be founded upon some conviction too fundamental to be shaken by local events possible in the near future, upon truths which could survive mere political realignments. It might, for example, concern itself with the problem of living in a world so at the mercy of violent and unpredictable events that it is perfectly possible for a man as intelligent and sincere as its author undoubtedly is to revise over night the deepest convictions he is able to articulate. The ultimate tragedy of our lives lies in the fact that such revisions are possible. But it is not with this tragedy that "The Rugged Path" deals. The play is, on the contrary, thoughtful only as a good editorial is thoughtful, and like a good editorial it might easily become any day as outmoded as "There Shall Be No Night" became at the moment when the events with which the new play deals began to unfold.

All criticism is to some extent impudent, and the ultimate in critical impudence is achieved when the critic undertakes to explain an author to himself. That impudence I must risk in order to declare my firm conviction that Mr. Sherwood's plays have always lagged one pace behind his own ever-increasing seriousness. By his own confession he wrote the highly diverting "Reunion in Vienna" in order not to think of certain things which troubled him. By the time he had got to "The Petrified Forest" and "Idiot's Delight" he could no longer wholly disregard them, and in "There Shall Be No Night" he thought that he had gone completely over to responsible seriousness. Actually, however, he has never permitted himself to go beyond journalism, and I risk the assertion that his present concern with specific political issues is as much an "escape" from deeper questions too puzzling and too painful to think about as "Reunion in Vienna" was an escape from the relatively more serious things even then struggling in his mind for recognition.

To say this seems to me more important than to say the obvious things about the play he has actually written, these obvious things being merely that an excellent performance by Spencer Tracy hardly succeeds in lifting it above its usually pedestrian level and that its effective passages, of which there are several, strike one as being rhetorical rather than poetic. Mr. Sherwood seems to be saying what he believes and what he believes the world ought to hear, but he also seems to be saying it with the sincerity of an honest publicist, which is very different from the sort of sincerity only to be achieved by the writer who is writing not off the top of his mind but out of its painful depths.

Few recent writers taking off from a contemporary problem have done more, and I can cite only Maxwell Anderson's "Key Largo" as even a half-successful attempt to get beyond journalism to some more than journalistic truth. But that does not change the fact that the real defect in almost all our so-called serious plays is simply that they are not in any dramatic, or poetic, or philosophical sense serious enough.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE LAST CHANCE" was made by Lazar Wechsler, in Switzerland, during the war. It is the story of the attempt of some derelict English and American soldiers to shepherd a polyglot group of refugees across the mountains from Italy into Switzerland. Most of the players are amateurs; some of them virtually reenact their living roles as refugees. With minor exceptions the performances, or the ways in which nonperformances are put to good use, are excellent. Some of the character conceptions, symbolizations, and melodramatic passages are over-obvious, high-flavored, and stagy, but none of the weaknesses of the film more than superficially vitiate its desperate courage, humaneness, and intensity, or its over-all eloquence. Nor does it strike me as dated: the world it tries to epitomize has changed, since the film was made, more for the worse than for the better. I am therefore more interested in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's attempt to give it regular feature-film circulation; I only wish I could believe that it will please, and arouse, any sufficient part of the general American audience.

Glad as I am, in some respects, that Metro plans to put a number of European films into broad circulation, I feel it may turn out to be a mixed blessing. I don't know, but think it reasonable to assume, that the effort is being made as one part of breaking down European tendencies to lock theaters against American films. If this is so and the reciprocal circulation gets going at all strong, I am afraid we shall have to expect more harm than good; that American films will become, more than ever before, vapid, safe advertisements of our well-known way of life—even touched up or supervised, perhaps, by the State Department; and that European films will become more and more "American" in style and content; and that it will on the whole become harder than before, not only here but in Europe, to make films that are worth making. I agree with anyone who insists that movies can be international in style and content; but for every good foot of

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internationalization I would expect a hundred bad, and would expect it even if that were not the way the money is stacked. Moreover, since intimate specification is even less dispensable to most good art than generalization, I believe that most of the best films, like most of the best of any other art, are and would always have to be developed locally, and primarily for local audiences.

"My Name Is Julia Ross," a mouse-among-cats thriller, shows bewildered Nina Foch, who thought she was merely a new secretary, trying to escape from Dame May Whitty and George Macready, who insist that she is respectively their daughter-in-law and wife, and who do their best to drive her to madness and suicide. The film is well planned, mostly well played, well directed, and in a somewhat boom-happy way well photographed—all around, a likable, unpretentious, generally successful attempt to turn good trash into decently artful entertainment. I have to add that I was not scared or even excited nearly so often as it was obvious I should be; but I suspect the deficiency was not the film's, but was temporary, and my own.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE best of Victor's November releases are a number of operatic recordings on single discs; and one of the best of these is *Pace, pace, mio Dio* from "La Forza del Destino" sung by Zinka Milanov (11-8927; $1). This singer has one of the most beautiful soprano voices of today, but one that she hasn't always under control; so that I have heard her go through most of a performance of "Don Giovanni" with a terrific tremolo, and then in one of the scenes of the second act suddenly begin to produce the steady, clear tones that are so beautiful, and that are also exciting in the way they are controlled and manipulated into inflected phrases. In *Pace, pace* most of her singing is of this beautiful and exciting kind, with only a few tones clouded by tremolo. The orchestral accompaniment provided by Frieda Weissmann is good; and the performance is well-recorded. On the reverse side, unfortunately, is *Voi lo sapete* from "Cavalleria Rusticana."

Milanov's singing is excellent also in the *Mira, Norma* duet from "Norma" (11-8924; $1); and with a properly matched alto voice there would have been a performance to rival the Ponselle-Telva version. But instead of the blending of two lovely voices on the old record we get the clashing of the beauty of Milanov's voice with the harshness and tremolo of Margaret Harshaw's.

In the *Miserere* duet from "Il Trovatore" (11-8782; $1) we get an example of unpleasantly tremolo-ridden singing by Milanov; but Jan Peerce's singing is excellent, as it is in *Ai nostri monti* on the reverse side, in which Kerstin Thorborg's beautiful voice begins to sound a little worn from the tightness one hears in its production. Weissmann's accompaniments are good; and the performances are well-recorded.

As a matter of fact one is aware of strain in Peerce's singing too—not from tightness in production but from straining for volume. This is the only defect in his superb singing of *Parmi veder le lagrime* from "Rigoletto" and *De' miei bollenti spiriti* from "La Traviata." Sylvan Levin's accompaniments are outstanding in their dramatic vitality and sensitiveness to the vocal line; and the performances are well recorded (11-8926; $1).

But if Peerce forces, then what Leonard Warren does in the Toreador Song from "Carmen" (11-8744; $1) can be described only as bellowing; and it is made worse by brashly reverberant recording that also exaggerates the heavy insensitiveness of William Tarasch's accompaniment. There is something more like singing in *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville"—that is, some modeling of the tones for phraseological inflection; but also a very hammy imitation of a style which Warren has no real feeling for.

One singer whom Victor might have used with Milanov in the "Norma" duet is Blanche Thebom, whose fresh and luscious mezzo-soprano voice is heard in the beautiful luxuriance of Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan und Isolde" (11-8928; $1); and, on the reverse side, in two "bleeding chunks" torn out of the Fricka-Wotan argument in "Die Walküre," which I find it difficult to listen to. Weissmann's accompaniments are his best of the series; and the performances are well-recorded.

And finally Victor has put on a single disc (11-8925 ;$1) the two sides of the Farewell and Death of Boris from the "Boris Godunov" set that I reviewed a few months ago.

As for Victor's November sets, they haven't given me the pleasure I would have liked to get from them. Schumann's Piano Concerto is a work I am very fond of; and I would like the performance by Arrau with the Detroit Symphony under Krueger (Set 1009; $4.50) if the piano part were played with the simplicity of the clarinettist's statement of the lovely opening theme, instead of the mannered style of Arrau's repetition of the theme immediately afterward, and if, with all its affectation, his playing were not so graceless and his touch not so hard. Myra Hess's older recorded performance is in the same affected style; but her playing is that of a person basically sensitive to music and instrument in a way that Arrau is not. His performance of the third movement, however, is superior to hers; for he drops affectation to play the music straightforwardly and spiritedly, and therefore effectively, whereas she takes all the life out of it with her slow pace and flabby style. The over-all recorded sound of the new version is rich and spacious, but loses volume and brilliance near the ends of some sides; the balance of piano and orchestra is excel-

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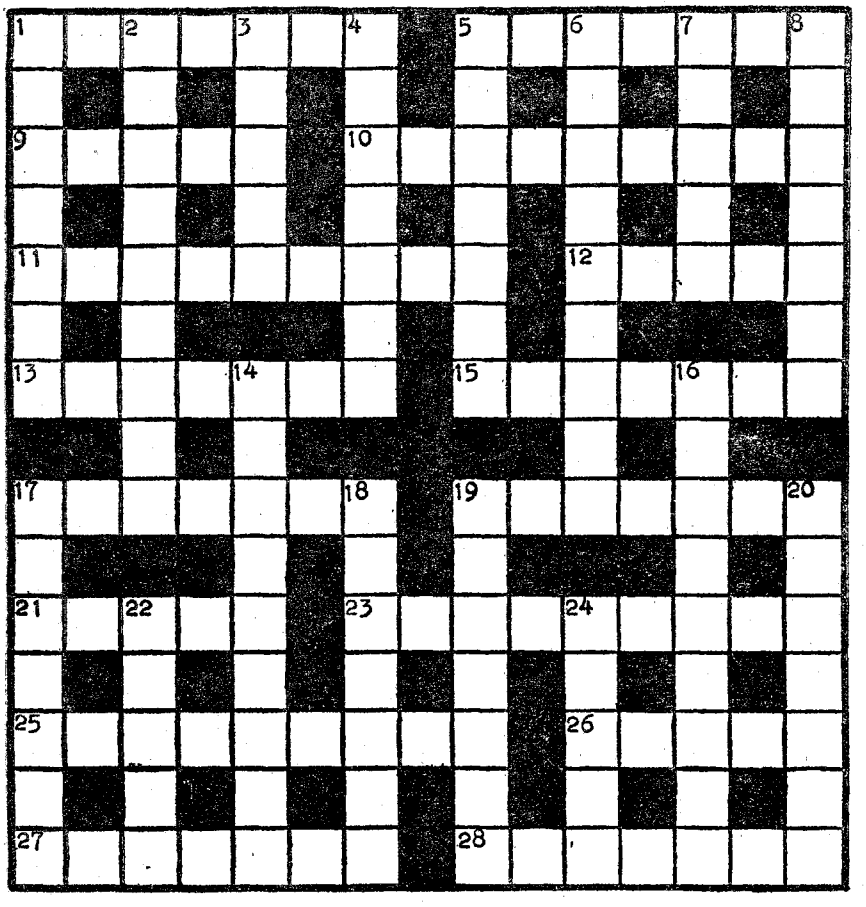
Crossword Puzzle No. 136

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Gone bad (anag.)
5 Explain
9 A rat in anger
10 Stare at us (anag.)
11 Has he something profitable to tell, or is he merely contradictory?
12 The right cereal for the police?
13 "We are such stuff As dreams are made on; and our little life Is ------- with a sleep"
15 This Shakespearean character is unlike his master, who is charming
17 Tool that is observed to worry
19 Rolling out the barrel is no treat for them
21 There's a boy in the clearing
23 Suitable headgear for a chaplain to a labor battalion? (two words, 6 & 3)
25 Known as the Virgin Queen, and as a queen was a success
26 Urban? Far from it
27 Gland that's been concerned in quite a bit of monkey business
28 She is in the money

DOWN

1 The wealthy widow begs us to have a gamble
2 Thanks, that expresses it
3 Remains of a he-ass, apparently
4 Tried a simple composition to start with
5 Otherwise typhoid
6 It might contain documents of interest to the harbor master
7 This with most is extreme
8 Rescind (anag.)
14 E. O. Despard reforms, but not for the better
16 American consul who spent most of his time in Glasgow writing Western stories (two words, 4 & 5)
17 To suggest that fruit's intended is a pure invention
18 London's fashionable part (two words, 4 & 3)
19 The outer man's principal need
20 Pays for the seats
22 Want friendship? See Amy about it!
24 Very strange

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 135

ACROSS:—1 ARTHUR; 5 WARSAW; 9 SOYBEAN; 11 ESTEEM; 12 TIRADE; 13 RAPHAEL; 14 TRES; 17 CELL; 19 SARTORIAL; 22 TODAY; 23 OLDER; 25 SALAAM; 26 MEDDLE; 27 DEMON; 29 SCOOP; 31 NONENTITY; 34 AKIN; 36 ERSE; 37 POOR MAN; 39 ARCHER; 40 DARTER; 41 RED DEER; 42 AENEID; 43 SYDNEY.

DOWN:—1 AVERTS; 2 TOTTER; 3 USER; 4 ROMAN ROAD; 5 WATER; 6 ANIL; 7 SCALED; 8 WEEKLY; 10 BEHEAD; 15 RANSACK; 16 STILTON; 17 CORDITE; 18 LAMENTS; 20 ILMEN; 21 LEMON; 24 RENEGADES; 28 MOORED; 29 SAHARA; 30 OILCAN; 32 IRETON; 33 YEARLY; 35 GORED; 37 PERI; 38 NARY.

lent, but the woodwinds, though audible, are weak in relation to the rest.

My even greater dislike of what Artur Rubinstein does with—or to—Beethoven's Sonata Opus 57 ("Appassionata") (Set 1018; $3.50) will, I am sure, count for very little in his mind as against the thunderous approval of the hundreds of thousands of people who packed his concerts for this display of virtuoso temperament and technique that tears apart the first movement and rips through the finale. I don't know whether the recording or the piano itself is responsible for its peculiar sound on the records; and I suppose a clear recording of what Rubinstein does in the finale would be impossible.

As for the set (1014; $4.50) of Schubert's Symphony No. 6, it gave me some pleasure with the beautiful playing of the London Philharmonic under Beecham, and with a recorded orchestral sound characteristic of English practice in the way it is clearly and cleanly defined in live but unreverberant quiet (but characteristic also in its heavy bass); but the work is one of Schubert's early, immature, and ramblingly inconsequential copies of the external forms of his predecessors. On the eighth side is the finale of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," which Beecham makes almost unrecognizable with one of the insanely slow tempos he goes in for now and then—for example in the first movement of Mozart's Symphony K. 201 and the minuet movement of the "Jupiter" Symphony.

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